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TUDOR TRANSLATIONS
AN ANTHOLOGY

TUDOR
TRANSLATIONS
AN ANTHOLOGY

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HIS HONOUR JUDGE CLEMENTS

OXFORD: BASIL BLACKWELL

1940

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TO MY WIFE
AND
TO THE MEMORY
OF
B. C.

C O N T E N T S

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... WHOEVER may be the author we prefer and who gives us back our own thoughts enriched and matured, we will then go to one of those good and antique spirits and converse with them at all moments, to ask a friendship that shall not deceive or fail us, and that habitual impression of serenity and amenity that will reconcile us, for we have often need of it, with our fellow-men and ourselves.

SAINTE-BEUVE, *Causeries du Lundi*,

October 21st, 1850.

INTRODUCTION

THE translators whose work is represented in this volume lived in the flowering age of English literature. Like the navigators of the times, they were possessed of the spirit of adventure, and their stout hearts were undaunted by difficulties or dangers.

Few of them were professed scholars. If some of them lacked Greek, all were well grounded in Latin, and that knowledge served their purpose. They were not afraid of sounding phrases. They wrote the English of Shakespeare and the translators of the Bible. If the language which they professed to translate were 'dead,' they saw to it that their own language was alive. If they missed the meaning or point of their author, the point they made was theirs and it struck home. Their translations were originals and 'smack of the rough magnanimity of the old English vein,' and 'fortify like a cordial.'

They are, I believe, little known to the general reader, but some at least have a permanent place in the history of English literature.

North's *Plutarch* is perhaps the greatest of them all. A fresh wind blows through his pages. His world is full of heroes and, loud or faint, the sound of trumpets is nearly always in the air. We hear the march of men and the trampling of horses, and we are often aware of the movement of mighty armies in moments of victory and defeat.

Vivid as these scenes are, no less vivid are the peaceful pictures of highways and harbours, homesteads and farms, and of the life in great cities or little towns 'by river or seashore.' And so too we see Rome and Athens with their squalor and splendour, and the yellow Tiber and the sparkling waters of the blue *Ægean*. Here too are triumphs, sacrifices, festivals and games, and the funeral procession goes by 'with banner and with music, with soldier and with priest'; and from these we gather much of our knowledge of Greek and Roman ceremonies. It has been said that if all other books were destroyed, we could recover some picture of the ancient world if *Plutarch* survived.

Sir Thomas North was born about the year 1537. He was a son of Edward, first Baron North. Leicester wrote of him to Burghley soon after the publication of the *Plutarch* (1579): 'He is a very honest gentleman and hath many good things in him which are drowned only by poverty.' Dudley, the fourth baron and grand-nephew of Sir Thomas, described him as 'a man of courage.' In the days of the Armada he took command of 300 men of Ely. A likely man to translate *Plutarch*. Before this he had become a student of Lincoln's Inn, but he soon forsook law for letters. His first book was a translation of a French version of Guevara's *Libro Aureo*, a Spanish adaptation of the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius. He called it *The Diall of Princes*.

North translated the *Lives* not from the Greek but from the French translation of Jaques Amyot. This learned and urbane ecclesiastic was a friend and tutor of princes, and was patronized by Marguerite of Navarre and Henri II. He represented the King at the Council of Trent and became Grand Almoner of France, Abbot of Bellozane and Bishop of Auxerre.

His translation of Plutarch's *Lives* was published in 1559. It was to the author of this translation that Montaigne expressed his gratitude: 'I do with some reason, as me seemeth, give honour and praise unto Jaques Amiot above all our French writers . . . I owe him thanks that he hath had the hap to chuse, and knowledge to cull-out so worthy a worke, and a booke so fit to the purpose, therewith to make so unvaluable a present unto his countrie. . . . It is our breviarie.'

Amyot fell on evil days during the troubles of the League. He was deprived of his office of Grand Almoner of France and driven from his palace. In the end, however, he returned, and there died in 1593, having experienced in his long life the extremes of fortune. We too must join with Montaigne in gratitude to Jaques Amyot.

North lived until the year 1603 and enjoyed some of the rewards which were his due. Shakespeare read his translation and turned some of his splendid prose into immortal verse. He was knighted and pensioned by Queen Elizabeth and held in esteem by all who knew him. His book is his monument.

If North's *Plutarch* was the most popular translation next to that of the Bible, three others deserve special notice—Philemon Holland, John Florio and Sir Thomas Urquhart.

Philemon Holland was born in 1552 and died in 1637. He studied medicine at Trinity College, Cambridge, and obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine. For a time he practised as a physician in Coventry, but although 'kind and generous to the poor he failed to establish himself in his profession.' He became a school usher and took to the translating of books. His life was a long struggle against poverty. He deserved better at the hands of fortune, for his industry was amazing. Fuller calls him 'the Translator-General of his age' and says that 'books alone of his turning into English will make a country gentleman a competent library for Historians.' He was a sound Greek and Latin scholar. He translated Livy, Suetonius, Plutarch's *Morals*, Pliny's *Natural History*, and Camden's *Britannia*—a goodly list but even so not complete. He translated Suetonius into language so entertaining and malicious that we can see the Emperors in dressing-gowns and night-caps, we can be at their elbow when they dine, we can wander along the corridors of royal palaces and peep behind the curtains. We steal out into the streets of old Rome, and our ears tingle with the scandal that we hear.

On the other hand, his translation of Livy is done into stately English. There is an old story that he used only one pen while performing this task, and Fuller makes the characteristic comment that 'he leaned very lightly on the neb thereof, though weightily enough, in another sense, performing not slightly, but solidly, what he undertook.'

For a short time Holland was head master of Coventry school, but that preferment came when he was too old and he filled the office for a few months only. Poor and old, this 'eminent translator,' to quote Fuller again, 'was translated to a better life.' He was a great scholar, and one who loved his country well. 'My sweet native country,' he calls it in one of his prefaces. When he died the good people of Coventry erected a monument to his memory in Trinity Church.

John Florio was born about 1553. He was admitted a member of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1581, and taught French and Italian. His Italian and English dictionary, *A World of Words*, was published in 1598. Little is known of his life save that he enjoyed the patronage of some influential persons and received a Court appointment. In 1603 there appeared his translation of the *Essays of Montaigne*, and by that famous work his name will be

remembered. His book, though a translation, is an original. There have been doubtless more accurate versions but none that can claim to have become an English classic.

Florio has been called 'Resolute John Florio,' and he went to his work with a stout heart; and if his mistakes are countless his book is still alive. 'In truth,' wrote Charles Cotton, 'both Mr Florio and I are to be excused, when we miss the sense of the author, whose language is such in many places as grammar cannot reconcile, which renders it the hardest book to make a justifiable version of that I yet ever saw in that or any other language I understand.' Whatever the faults of the book may be, the translation deserves to stand by the original.

Florio died in 1625 at Fulham, it is said of the plague.

His translation of Montaigne was read by Shakespeare. Indeed it would be true to say that without Florio's *Montaigne* and North's *Plutarch*, much that we value in Shakespeare would have been lost. Whatever may be urged against reading translations of the classics, this should be remembered.

It is impossible to obtain any just idea of Montaigne by reading a few extracts from his Essays. He must be read continuously, not from cover to cover—he would not have us do so—but to know him we must live with him and share his changing moods. The subject of Montaigne's book is himself. He seeks to know himself; nothing shall escape him; he will watch and probe and examine, and set down all in truthfulness, extenuating nothing. Did he succeed in that task of self-portraiture? Have we the real Montaigne after all? As we read his Essays, how many Montaignes peep out at us! For a moment we seem to see him face to face, the very man he would have us know—but only for a moment, and then an anecdote, a comment, a word or two, and all is changed. We follow him through his twists and changes, but in the end he eludes us.

Montaigne lived in a brutal and violent age. He turned away from the distracting world he saw around him and sought to be at peace with himself, and in that most difficult task he succeeded. When called upon to serve as Mayor of Bordeaux, he did not shirk the arduous duties of that office. He performed them with skill and punctilious care, although such employment he regarded as unsuited to his capacity and the natural bent of his mind. He was glad when his term was over and he could retire to

his château and concern himself no more with affairs of state. Here, surrounded by his family and dependants, he cultivated his land and his garden. He watched his little world with ever-increasing wonder, and rode and thought and read as the years glided by. But above all it was to his books that he turned for amusement and consolation, and to the setting down of his thoughts to be expanded or pruned until they took shape in his Essays. He was happy enough, especially when on horseback, but given, as such men are at times, to melancholy. He asked nothing more of life and would be content with whatever fate had in store for him—only he would die, if he could choose the manner of his death, suddenly and when planting his cabbages. For the rest, let the world go by—he would not meddle with it.

At his château Montaigne built himself a tower overlooking the courtyard, and within it, in a little room, he collected his famous library. In the rafters may still be seen quotations in Greek and Latin garnered from the rich autumnal wisdom of the ancient world. It was to this tower that he loved to go, and he would have all men possess such a retreat where they would be alone. 'At home,' he writes, 'I betake me somewhat the oftener to my library, whence all at once I command and survey all my household; it is seated in the chiefe Entrie of my house, thence I behold under me my garden, my base court, my yard, and look even into most roomes of my house. There without order, without method, and by peece-meales I turne over and ransacke, now one booke and now another.' . . . 'Miserable, in my minde, is he, who in his owne house hath nowhere to be himselfe; where hee may particularly court, and at his pleasure hide or withdraw himself.'

To Montaigne as to Shakespeare, 'ripeness is all.' 'Have you known,' he asks, 'how to meditate and manage your life? You have accomplished the greatest worke of all.' . . . 'Have you knowne how to take rest? You have done more than he, who hath taken Empires and citties. The glorious masterpiece of man, is, to live to the purpose.'

'The best and most commendable lives, and best pleasing men are (in my conceit) those which with order are fitted, and with decorum are ranged to the common mould and human model: but without wonder or extravagancy. Now hath old age need be handled more tenderly. Let us recommend it unto that God, who

is the protector of health, and fountaine of all wisdom; but blithe and sociall.'

Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty was born in the year 1611 and therefore is included in the Tudor period only by generosity of interpretation. But included he must be. In some respects he is the greatest, and he is certainly the strangest of all translators here represented. He was the simplest and vainest of men—with a vast amount of useless learning, but withal a real touch of genius. He was the one man of his time who could translate Rabelais, and happily it fell to his lot to do it. The extracts given in this book can afford only the faintest idea of the scope or meaning of Rabelais or Urquhart. The whole book in the original or translation must be read. Neither will it be to the taste of everyone, and it is somewhat difficult for the modern reader to understand the joy and enthusiasm with which Gargantua and Pantagruel were welcomed by those who were struggling for freedom in the Europe of the sixteenth century. Rabelais was a breaker of chains—one of the world's great liberators. 'It was all over with the happiness of the people,' wrote Bernardin de St Pierre, 'and even with religion when two men of letters, Rabelais and Miguel Cervantes, rose up, the one in France, and the other in Spain, and shook both the powers of Monasticism and Chivalry. To overthrow these two giants, they employed no other arms than ridicule, that natural contrast to human terror. Like children the people laughed and were reassured.' Europe saved itself by laughter.

The spirit of Rabelais had entered into Sir Thomas Urquhart. He translated the first three books only, the third being published after his death. Urquhart belonged to an ancient Scottish family, of which fact he was extravagantly proud. He was educated at the King's College, Aberdeen, and travelled in France, Spain and Italy. He was a good linguist and spoke the languages of these countries with ease—at least he said he did. He also learned to game.

He boasted of the 'valour, learning and honesty' of his native land wherever he went, and maintained that in these virtues the Scots surpassed all other nations.

In 1652 he published *A Promptuary of Time*, wherein he traced the family of Urquhart in their house of Cromarty back to Adam. As might be expected, his affairs were in disorder, and

he was never free from debt; he lived in a world of fantasy. Among the books he published was one he called '*Trissotetras*: or a most exquisite Table for resolving all Manner of Triangles.'

In 1641 he had been knighted by Charles I in the gallery at Whitehall and was an ardent royalist. He was taken prisoner at the Battle of Worcester and lost most of the precious manuscripts he carried with him. He was committed to the Tower and afterwards removed by order of Cromwell to Windsor Castle. He was released on parole and allowed to return to Scotland for a time, and was treated with much consideration. He tried to convince Cromwell that 'a family which Saturn's scythe had not been able to mow in the course of all former ages, ought not to be prematurely cut off.' The tracing of his family back to the red earth from which God framed Adam, surnamed 'the Protoplast,' doubtless amused Cromwell and inclined him to think that little harm could be done by sparing so fantastic a creature. He lived to the year 1660, still harrassed by his creditors and for ever following 'will o' the wisps,' when one day he heard of the return of Charles II. The news killed him. His long pent-up feelings were released. The sour-faced, psalm-wailing Puritans had lost. There should be cakes and ale again, and the world should dance and sing once more. At the thought he gave way to uncontrollable laughter, and it is said that suddenly, in the midst of that laughter, he died.

The rest of the translators here represented are shadowy figures of whose lives little is known, but something has been told of them in the biographical notes in the appendix to this volume. They live in their work.

This Anthology has been prepared for those who have little or no acquaintance with the old English translations. If any such should chance to turn its pages and are impelled by what they read to go to the authors themselves, then the purpose of the book will have been achieved.

A. F. C.

THE FAMOUS HYSTORY OF
HERODOTUS

Translated into English by

B. R.

Anno 1584

IT IS not possible to have the true pictures or statues of Cyrus, Alexander, Caesar, no nor of the kings or great personages of much later years; for the originals cannot last, and the copies cannot but lose of the life and truth. But the images of men's wits and knowledges remain in books, exempted from the wrong of time and capable of perpetual renovation. Neither are they fitly to be called images, because they generate still, and cast their seeds in the mind of others, provoking and causing infinite actions and opinions in succeeding ages. So that if the invention of the ship was thought so noble, which carrieth riches and commodities from place to place, and consociateth the most remote regions in participation of their fruits, how much more are letters to be magnified, which as ships pass through the vast seas of time, and make ages so distant to participate of the wisdom, illuminations, and inventions, the one of the other?

FRANCIS BACON, *The Advancement of Learning*,
The First Book.

HERODOTUS

How Croesus his dumbe sonne spake to save his father and of the wisdom and merciful nature of Cyrus in yeldinge Croesus pardon.

NOW the walles beyng taken a certayne souldiour of the Persians came vyolently towards Croesus to have done him to death, not supposing him to have bene the king. Whom he perceyvinge, neverthelesse regarded not the daunger making no difference whether hee perished by sword or otherwyse. The dumbe sonne seeyng the imminent perill of the King hys father, and fearynge his death, brake out in these wordes sayinge:

Hold thy handes (Good fellow) slay not king Croesus. Which beyng the first wordes that ever he spake, hee had alwaies after the ready use and practise of his tounge. Thus Croesus and hys city Sardis, after he had raygned 14 years and abiden so many dayes siege, fell into the hands and power of the Persians: having lost a great kingdome, accordyng to the voyce and sentence of the oracle. Beyng in this sort apprehended, he was brought to king Cyrus, who causing his hands and feete to be clogged with great and waighty givies of yron, set him in the midst of a woodpile, made for the nonce, accompanied with 14 children of the Lydians: determining to offer these first fruites to the Gods ether for perfourmance and accomplishment of some vow, or for profe or tryall whether any of the Gods (unto whose honor and service he understode Croesus to be greatly addicted) woulde save and deliver him from the fyre. These things are commonly spred and reported of Cyrus.

In this most yrksome and lamentable case whiles the kynge of the Lydians stode on the heape or pyle of fagots he bethought hymselfe of the words and saying of Solon: who lead by the divine instinct of some heavenly influence, had told hym before that in the number of the livinge, there was no man so singular that might be named happy. Wherof beyng admonished in his mynd, and fetching from the bottom of his hart a deepe and

streyning sigh, he by report wept bitterly, and three sundrye tymes cryed out aloud upon the name of Solon, which Cyrus hearing willed the interpreters to aske hym whom he called upon. To whom Croesus made no answeare at all, until such tyme as beyng compelled by constraynt, he sayd, I named him whom I had rather then al the wealth in the worlde, hee had lykewyse talked with all those who beyng placed in the hyghest degree of honoure have the chiefe government of the kingdomes on Earth, which woordes for that hee uttered not halfe playnlye, and to the cleare and perfyt understanding of those which were attentyve, and listened unto hym, they urged him a fresh to make a recytall therof agayne. At whose instant and importunate halinge beyng now constrayned to begynne his speech anew, he told them how a long tyme synce Solon an Athenian, arrived at his court: who beholding his infinite treasure and aboundance of wealth made verye light accompt thereof as a thinge of smal and base value, in so much that whatsoever he had spoken and pronounced of hym, the same in due measure had fallen out and comen to event. Which thinges neverthesse, were not peculiarly spoken of hym but generally of the whole nation and company of men: and chiefly of those which please themselves here on earth in a pleasaunt dreame and singular contentment of happy blisse. Whyles Croesus spake these thinges, and the fagottes had taken fyre on every syde: Cyrus understandyng by the expositors of the Lydian tounge what he had said, was moved with compassion, knowinge himselfe also to bee but a man who was now in hand to frye another to death by fyre, that of late dayes was nothinge inferiour to himselfe in power and prosperitie. And fearing vengeance for the same and consydering the instable course and fickle flower of mans affayres, commaunded with all diligence the fyre to be extingushed and Croesus with the rest of his company to bee set free. But they strove in vain the fyre having taken such vehement holde, that it seemed unquencheable and not to bee overcome. In this place the Lydians recounte that Croesus knowing kyng Cyrus his minde to be chaunged and seeing every man endevoure to abate the rage and furie of the flame, howbeit nothing at all profiting: he lyfted up his voyce and cryed to Apollo for succour: that if ever any giftes offered by him had ben pleasaunt in his sight, he would acquite and deliver him from this present daunger. As he was pitifully shedding his teares in

plainte and lamentation to the God, sodainly, the daye was overcaste and shadowed with the darke vale of dimme and duskie cloudes, which breakynge out into maine showres cleane put out and quenched the fire. Herby Cyrus perceiving that Croesus was a vertuous man and reverenced the Gods he saved him from the fyre: and demaunded him the question saying: Tell me now O Croesus whose counsaile was it to invade my country, and became of my friend myne enemy: Certes (quoth hee) O Kinge I have done this to mine owne great losse and thy gayne, the God of the Graecians incyting and leading me hereto, who was the cause that I warred agaynst thee. For no man is so franticke to desire warre rather then peace: when as in tyme of concorde the sonnes bury the fathers: but in warre the father carieth the sonne to hys grave. Howbeit it seemed good to the God to bringe these things to passe. Which havinge saide, Cyrus placed him by, and hadde hym in great honour and reverence, and stedfastlye beholding him greatly wondred with the rest of his company. All which while Croesus in a deepe muse and profound studye sat stil without speaking any worde.

The Crocodile, a beaste called the Ryver horse, and the byrde Phoenix.

TO SOME of the Aegyptians Crocodiles are in place of holy creatures, to other prophane and noysome, which chace and pursue them as most odious and pestilent beastes. Those that geve honour to them, are such as inhabite about Thebes, and the poole of Moeris, who are wont commonly to traine up a Crocodile to hand, and make it tame, being in all poyntes so gentle and tractable as a dogge. At whose eares they hang gemmes of singulare price, likewise golden earings, hampering a chayne to the forefeete. This tame one they cherish and bryng up with great care, setting very much by it while it liveth, and being dead, they powder the body with sault, and lay it under the ground in a vessell accounted holy. Unlike to these are the people dwelling at Elephantina, who be so farre from thinking so reverently of suche venomous serpents, that for hate they slay, and in disdayne eate them. The Aegyptians call them not Crocodyles, but Champsi, this name being brought up by the people of Ionia, for that in shape they resemble those Crocodyles which amongst them ingender and breede in hedges. Di-

vers are the meanes whereby they are taken, yet amongst other devyses this one seemeth to mee most worthy rehersall. Such as lay for them and seeke all wayes to take them, bayte their hookes with Swynes flesh and cast it into the middest of the ryver: immediately standing on the shore they beate a younge porkling and cause it to cry exceedingly: which the Crocodile hearing followeth the cry, and drawing neere to the place, findeth the bayte and swalloweth it up at one morsel. Being fast intangled and drawne to lande, they first blinde and stop up hir eyes with clay and rubbishe, which causeth hir to lye still and suffer all thinges quietly, which otherwise they could never obtaine and come by without much a doe. Likewise, the Ryverhorse (a beast so called) in all the borders of Papremis is reputed holy: being of this shape and figure. He hath foure feete cloven in sunder, and hoved like an Oxe: a flat nose: and taile and Mane like an Horse: teeth apparaunt and standing out: in sounde and cry neighing so like a horse as may be: in bignesse resembling a mighty Bull, of so grosse and thicke an hyde that being well dried, they make thereof Darts of exceeding strength and stiffnesse. There be also founde to breede in the ryver certaine beastes much like a Bever and live like an Otter, which in Aegypt are of great accounte and thought holy. In the same degre of sacred honour are all kinde of scale fishe and Eeles. Such is also their opinion and reverence towards birds and fowles of the ayre, as wilde Geese and such like. There is also an other bird of whom above all other they think most divinely, called a Phoenix: which I never saw, but portrayed and shadowed in coloures. For she commeth very seldome into that countrey (as farre as I could heare say by the Heliopolitains) to wit, once in 500 yeares, and that also when hir parent or breeder dyeth. If she be truly drawne by the Aegyptians this is hir forme and bignesse: hir feathers partly red and partly yealow, glittering like Golde: in forme and quantity of the body not much differing from an Eagle. Of this Phoenix, Aegyptians have bruted a straunge tale, which I can hardly credit: saying that the Phoenix flying from Arabia, to the temple of the Sunne in Aegypt, carieth in hir tal-lants the corps of hir dead sire, embaulmed and roled in Myrrhe which she accustometh to bury in that place. Adding also the maner whereby she inureth hir selfe to cary so great a burthen. First she gathers a great quantity of Myrrhe and works it into a

lumpe, as much as shee canne well beare, whereby to make tryall of hir owne strength. After this perceyving hirselle able to weylde it, shee maketh an hole with hir Beake in the side of the balle, framing it very hollow and empty within, wherein she incloseth the body of hir breeder. This done, and the hole cunningly filled up againe, she poyseth the whole masse in hir tallaunts: and finally, she transporteth it to Heliopolis to the temple Pallace of the Sunne: so skilfully handling hir cariage, that the Myrrhe body and all waygheth no more then the whole balle did before.

This they mention as concerning the Phoenix.

Their floud in Aegypt, and the nature of their fish.

NOTWITHSTANDING for the easie provision of their foode and sustenance other thinges have bene soughte out and devised by them. For in time of the floude when the ryver overgoeth the countrey, there arise in the water great plenty of lyllyes, which the people of Aegypt call Lotos. These they reape and dry them in the Sunne. The seede whereof (growing in the midst of the flower, somewhat like unto Popy seede) they boyle, after which they kneade it into cakes, and bake it for breade. The roote of this is very tothsome, pleasant and good to eate: being of forme very rounde, and in bignes like an aple. There is also another kinde of lyllyes much like to roses, which in like maner have their growth in the water, from whose roote springs a bud unlike to the former, bearing fruite in maner and likenesse of an hony Combe: herein are containd certayne smale kernells resembling the stone of an Olyve, not unfit for sustenance, and commonly eaten of the Aegyptians, aswel fresh as wythered. The selfe same people when the season of the yeare serveth, are busily conversant in gathering a kinde of Rush called Byblus, the top whereof they crop and turne it into use of foode: the residue being much about one cubyte in length, they partly eate and partly sell. Such as be desirous to make fine and delicate meate of this Rush, use to cast it into an Oven and broyle it: some there be that lyve only by fish, which having taken, they incontinently draw them and parch them in the Sunne like stockfish, and being well dryed they eate them. The common sorte of fish used among them, breede not in the ryver, but in pooles, being of this nature.

Toward the time of spawning they leave the fennes and make repayre generally to the sea, the male fishes in maner of captaines leading the ranke. These male fishe as they passe still onwarde shed theyr seede by the way, which their femals following after immediatly devour, and thereof shortly after breede theyr spawnes. Now at the pointe of breede, the femals forsaking the salt waters, stower backe agayne to the maryses to their accustomed haunte, leadinge the males that follow after them: and in swimming backe agayne, they voide spawne, being very smale cornes, like the graynes of mustard seede which lightinge upon the male fishe in the tayle of the rancke, are swallowed up and devoured by them. Not one of these litle graynes but will grow to a fishe, as well may bee seene by those that escape the males, and are undevoired: which being nourished by the waters growe to smale Frye. Such of these fishes as are taken swimminge to the sea, are founde to have the left side of theyr heads very much worne and gauled: and in comming from the sea, the right side: the cause being this, that both in going and comming they continually grate agaynst the shore and bancks of the ryver, as a direction to them in passinge to and fro, least that floting in the midst of the streame, they chaunce to stray and wander out of the right course. At such time as the ryver Nilus beginneth to swell, all the lowe places in the countrey and Ponds neere adjoyning to the ryver doe likewise increase: being then to bee seene great store of younge Fry in every litle puddle. Whereof these should breede, this seemeth to be a probable cause, that the yeare before, at the fall and decrease of the water, the fish which together with the ryver departe them selves, leave behinde them their spawne in the mudde, which at the rysing of the nexte floude, being eftsones moystned by the waters, recover vertue, and growe to bee fish. As touchinge which thinges let it seeme sufficient thus much to have spoken.

THUCYDIDES
THE PELOPONNESIAN WARRE

Translated into English

by

THOMAS HOBBS

Anno 1629

... THE *retreat from Syracuse: is it, or is it not the finest thing you ever read in your life?*

GRAY to WHARTON,
September 11th, 1746.

THUCYDIDES

Funeral Speech of Pericles.

SUCH were these men, worthy of their Country; and for you that remaine, you may pray for a safer furtune; but you ought not to bee lesse venturously minded against the enemye; not weighing the profit by an Oration onely, which any man amplifying, may recount, to you that know as well as hee, the many commodities that arise by fighting valiantly against your enemies, but contemplating the power of the Citie in the actions of the same from day to day performed, and thereby becomming enamoured of it. And when this power of the Citie shall seeme great to you, consider then, that the same was purchased by valiant men, and by men that know their duty, and by men that were sensible of dishonour when they were in fight; and by such men, as though they failed of their attempt, yet would not bee wanting to the Citie with their vertue, but made unto it a most honourable contribution. For hauing every one giuen his body to the Common-wealth, they receiue in place thereof, an undecaying commendation, and a most remarkeable Sepulcher, not wherein they are buried so much, as wherein their glory is laid up, upon all occasions, both of speech and action, to bee remembred for euer. For to famous men, all the earth is a Sepulcher: and their vertues shall bee testified, not onely by the inscription in stone at home, but by an unwritten record of the minde, which more then of any Monument, will remaine with every one for euer. In imitation therefore of these men, and placing happinesse in liberty, and liberty in valour, bee forward to encounter the dangers of Warre. For the miserable and desperate men, are not they that have the most reason to bee prodigall of their liues, but rather such men, as if they liue, may expect a change of fortune, and whose losses are greatest, if they miscarry in ought. For to a man of any spirit, Death, which is without sense, arriuing whilst hee is in vigour, and common hope, is nothing so bitter, as after a tender life to bee brought into miserie.

Wherefore I will not so much bewaile, as comfort you the parents, that are present, of these men. For you know that whilst they liued, they were obnoxious to manifold calamities, whereas whilst you are in griefe, they onely are happy, that dye honourably, as these have done: and to whom it hath beene granted, not only to liue in prosperity, but to dye in it. Though it bee a hard matter to dissuade you from sorrow, for the losse of that, which is the happiness of others, wherein you also when time was, reioyced your selues, shall so often bring into your remembrance (for sorrow is not for the want of a good neuer tasted, but for the priuation of a good wee have beene used to) yet such of you as are of the age to haue children, may beare the losse of these, in the hope of more. For the later children will both draw on with some the obliuion of those that are slaine, and also doubly conduce to the good of the Citie, by population and strength. For it is not likely that they should equally giue good counsell to the State, that haue not children to bee equally exposed to danger in it. As for you that are past hauing of children, you are to put the former and greater part of your life, to the account of your gaine, and supposing the remainder of it will bee but short, you shall haue the glory of these for a consolation of the same. For the loue of honour never groweth old, nor doth that unprofitable part of our life take delight (as some have said) in gathering of wealth, so much as it doth in being honoured. As for you that are the children or brethren of these men, I see you shall have a difficulte taske of aemulation. For euery man useth to praise the dead; so that with oddes of vertue you will hardly get an equall reputation, but still be thought a little short. For men enuy their Competitors in glory, while they liue, but to stand out of their way, is a thing honoured with an affection free from opposition. And since I must say somewhat also of feminine vertue, for you that are now Widdowes: I shall expresse it all in this short admonition. It will bee much for your honour, not to recede from your Sexe, and to giue as little occasion of rumour amongst the men, whether of good or euill, as you can. Thus also haue I, according to the prescript of the Law, deliuered in word what was expedient; and those that are here interred, haue in fact beene already honoured; and further, their children shall bee maintained till they be at mans estate, at the charge of the Citie, which hath therein propounded both to these, and them that

liue, a profitable Garland in their matches of valour. For where the rewards of vertue are greatest, there liue the worthiest men. So now having lamented euery one his owne, you may be gone.

The Athenian Fleet putteth to Sea.

AFTER this, the Summer being now halfe spent, they put to Sea for Sicily. The greatest part of the Confederates, and the Ships that carried their Corne, and all the lesser vessels, and the rest of the provision that went along, they before appointed to meet upon a day set, at Corcyra, thence all together to crosse over the Ionian Gulfe, to the Promontory of Iapigia. But the Athenians themselves, and as many of their Confederates as were at Athens, upon the day appointed, betimes in the morning, came downe into Peiraeus, and went aboard to take Sea. With them came downe in a manner the whole multitude of the City, aswell Inhabitants as strangers: The Inhabitants, to follow after such as belonged unto them, some their friends, some their kinsmen, and some their children; filled both with hope, and lamentations; hope of conquering what they went for, and lamentation, as being in doubt whether ever they should see each other any more, considering what a way they were to goe from their owne Territory. And now when they were to leave one another to danger, they apprehended the greatnesse of the same, more then they had done before, when they decreed the Expedition. Nevertheless their present strength, by the abundance of every thing before their eyes prepared for the Iourney, gave them heart againe in beholding it. But the strangers & other multitude came only to see the show, as of a worthy and incredible Designe.

After they were all aboard, and all things laid in, that they meant to carry with them, silence was commanded by the Trumpet; and after the Wine had beene carried about to the whole Army, and All, aswell the Generals as the Souldiers, had drunke a health to the Voyage, they made their prayers, such as by the Law were appointed for before their taking Sea; not in every Galley apart, but all together, the Herald pronouncing them: And the company from the shoare, both of the Citie, and whosoever else wished them well, prayed with them. And when they had sung the Paean, and ended the Health, they put forth to Sea. And having at first gone out in a long File, Gally after Gally,

they after went a vie by Aegina. Thus hasted these to be at Corcyra; to which place also the other Armie of the Confederates were assembling.

The Athenians march away from before Syracuse by land.

AFTER this, when everything seemed unto Nicias and Demosthenes, sufficiently prepared, they dislodged, being now the third day from their fight by Sea. It was a lamentable departure, not onely for the particulars, as that they marched away with the losse of their whole Fleet, & that in stead of their great hopes, they had endangered both themselves and the State, but also for the dolorous objects, which were presented both to the eye and minde of every of them in particular, in the leaving of their Campe. For their dead lying unburyed, when any one saw his friend on the ground, it strooke him at once, both with feare and griefe. But the living that were sicke or wounded, both grieved them more then the dead, and were more miserable. For with intreates and lamentations they put them to a stand, pleading to bee taken along by whomsoever they saw of their fellowes or familiars, and hanging on the neckes of their Camerades, and following as farre as they were able. And when the strength of their bodies failed, that they could goe no further, with Ay-meas and imprecations were there left. Insomuch as the whole Armie filled with teares, and irresolute, could hardly get away, though the place were hostile, and they had suffered already, and feared to suffer in the future, more then with teares could bee expressed, but hung downe their heads, and generally blamed themselves. For they seemed nothing else, but even the people of some great City expugned by siege, and making their escape. For the whole number that marched, were no lesse, one with another, then 40000. men. Of which, not onely the ordinary sort carried every one what he thought he should have occasion to use; but also the men of Armes & Horsemen, contrary to their custome, carried their victuals under their Armes, partly for want, & partly for distrust of their servants, who from time to time ran over to the enemy; but at this time went the greatest number: and yet what they carried, was not enough to serve the turne. For not a iot more provision was left remaining in the Campe. Neither were the sufferings of others, and that equal

division of misery, which neverthesse is wont to lighten it, in that we suffer with many, at this time so much as thought light in it selfe. And the rather, because they considered from what splendor and glory which they enioyed before, into how low an estate they were now false: For never Grecian Army so differed from it selfe. For whereas they came with a purpose to enslave others, they departed in greater feare of being made slaves themselves, and in stead of Prayers and Hymnes, with which they put to Sea, they went backe againe with the contrary maledictions;

And this was the greatest action that happened in all this Warre, or at all, that we have heard of amongst the Grecians, being to the Victors most glorious, and most calamitous to the vanquicted. For being wholly overcome in every kinde, and receiving small losse in nothing, their Army, and Fleet, and all that ever they had, perished, (as they use to say) with an universall destruction. Few of many returned home. And thus passed the business concerning Sicily.

PLUTARCH'S
Lives of the Noble
GRECIANS AND ROMANS
Englished by
SIR THOMAS NORTH
Anno 1579

FOR it is a certaine rule and instruction, which by examples past, teacheth us to judge of thinges present, and to foresee things to come: so as we may know what to like of, and what to follow, what to mislike, and what to eschew. It is a picture, which (as it were in a table) setteth before our eies the things worthy of remembrance that have bene done in olde time by mighty nations, noble kings and Princes, wise governors, valiant Captaines, and persons renowned for some notable qualitie, representing unto us the maners of straunge nations, the lawes and customs of old time, the particular affaires of men, their consultations and enterprises, the meanes that they have used to compass them withall, and their demeaning of them selves when they were comen to the highest, or throwen down to the lowest degre of state.

JACQUES AMYOT.

A R I S T I D E S

*Solemne sacrifices and funeralls kept by the Plataeians yerely for the
Grecians that were slaine at the battaill of Plataees.*

THE sixteenth day of the moneth of Maemacterion (which the Boeotians call Alalcomenies, and is about the moneth of Ianuary) they goe a procession, and before the procession there goeth a trompetor that soundeth the alarom. Then there follow certeine charrettes loden with braunches of fyrr tree, and with nosegayes and garlandes of triumphe: then a blacke bul, and certaine yong gentlemen noble men sonnes, that cary great cawdrons with two eares full of wine and milke, such as they use to powre apon the graves of deade men for propiciatory oblations, and other young boyes free borne, that cary oyles, perfumes, and other sweete odours in vyoll glasses. For no seruaunt or bonde man may lawfully be admitted to have any office about this mistery, for that they whose memory they honor, dyed all fighting for defence of the liberty of Greece. After all this shew, followeth the provost of the Plataeians for that time being, last of all: who may not all the rest of the yeare besides so much as touch any iron, nor weare any other coloured gowne but white. Howebeit then he weareth on a purple coloured coate, and holdeth a funerall potte in one of his handes, which he taketh in the towne house, and a naked sworde in the other hande, and so goeth through the cittie in this sorte after all the pompe aforesayed, unto the church yarde where all their graves be that were slaine at that battell. So when he commeth thither, he draweth water out of a well that is there, and with the same he washeth the fouresquare pillers and images that stand apon those tombes, and then annointeth them with oyles and sweete savors: afterwards, he sacrificeth a bulle, and layeth him apon a heape of wodde hard by him, as they do when they burne the bodies of dead men, and making certaine praier and petitions unto Iupiter, and Mercurie, goddess of the earth, he doth solemnely invite the soules of those valliant men that dyed, fightinge for the liberty of Greece, unto the feast of this funeral sacrifice. Then he

taketh a cuppe full of wine in his hande, and spilling it all upon their tombes, he speaketh these wordes aloud: I drinke to the worthy and valliant men, that dyed sometime in defence of the liberty of Greece. This solemne ceremony and anniversarie, the Plataeians doe duely observe unto this present day.

The wicked parte of Callias the torche bearer.

As amongst other, there was one Callias, one of Ceres Priestes, called Dadouchos, as you woulde saye the torche bearer: (for in the secret sacrifices of Ceres, his office was to holde the torche) whom when one of the barbarous people saw, and how he ware a bande about his head, and long heare, he toke him for some king, and falling on his knees at his feete, kissed his hand, and shewed him great store of golde he hadde hidden and buried in a ditch. But Callias, like a most cruell, and cowardly wretch of all other on the earth, tooke away the gold, and killed the poore soule that had shewed him the place, bicause he shoulde not tell it to others. Hereof it commeth, that the comicall Poets do call those that came of him in mockery, Laccoplutes, as made rich by a ditch: bicause of the golde that Callias founde in it.

The nature of the Ostracismon.

FOR this maner of banishment called Ostracismon, or Exostracismon, was no ordinary punishment for any fault or offence committed: but to geve it an honest cloke, they sayd it was onely a pulling downe and tying shorte, of to much greatnesse and authority, exceeding farre the maner and countenance of a popular state. But to tell you truly, it was none otherwise, then a gentle meane to qualify the peoples envy against some private person: which envy bred no malice to him whose greatnes did offende them, but onely tended to the banishing of him for tenne yeares. But afterwarde that by practise, this Ostracismon banishment was layed upon meane men, and malefactors, as upon Hyperbolus that was the last man so banished: they never after used it any more at Athens. And by the way, it shall not be amisse to tell you here, why, and wherfore this Hyperbolus was banished. Alcibiades and Nicias were the chieftest men of Athens at that time, and they both were ever at square together, a common thing amongst great men. They perceiving now by the peoples as-

sembling, that they went about to execute the Ostracismon, were marvelously afrayed it was ment to banishe one of them: wherefore they spake together, and made both their followers frends with eche other, and joyned them in one tribe together, insomuch, when the most voyces of the people were gathered to condemne him that should be banished, they founde it was Hyperbolus. The people therewith were much offended, to see the Ostracismon so embased and scorned, that they never after woulde use it againe, and so left it of for ever. But briefly to let you understande what the Ostracismon was, and after what sorte they used it, ye are to know: that at a certaine day appointed, every citizen caried a great shell in his hande, whereupon he wrote the name of him he woulde have banished, and brought it into a certaine place railed about with wodden barres in the market place. Then, when every man hadde brought in his shell: the magistrates, and officers of the city, did count and tell the number of them. For if there were lesse then sixe thousand citizens, that had thus brought these shels together: the Ostracismon was not full and perfect. That done, they layd a parte every mans name written in these shels: and whose name they founde wrytten by most citizens, they proclaimed him by sounde of trompet, a banished man for tenne yeares, during which time notwithstanding, the party did enjoy all his goodes. Now every man wryting thus his name in a shell, whom they would have banished: it is reported there was a plaine man of the contry (very simple) that coulde neither wryte, nor read, who came to Aristides (being the first man he met with) and gave him his shell, praying him to wryte Aristides name upon it. He beinge abashed withall, did aske the contrie man, if Aristides had ever done him any displeasure. No, sayed the contrie man, he never did me hurt, nor I know him not: but it greeves me to heare every man call him a just man. Aristides hearing him say so, gave him no aunswere, but wrote his owne name upon the shell, and delivered it againe to the contrie man. But as he went his way out of the citie, he lift uppe his handes to heaven, and made a prayer contrary to that of Achilles in Homer, besechinge the goddes that the Athenians might never have such troubles in hande, as they should be compelled to call for Aristides againe.

A L C I B I A D E S

Alcibiades Ambitious.

FOR his manners they altered and chaunged very oft with time, which is not to be wondred at, seing his marvelous great prosperitie, as also adversitie that followed him afterwards. But of all the great desiers he had, and that by nature he was most inclined to, was ambition, seeking to have the upper hand in all things, and to be taken for the best persone: as appeareth by certaine of his dedes, and notable sayings in his youthe, extant in writing. One daye wrestling with a companion of his, that handled him hardly, and thereby was likely to have geven him the fall: he got his fellowes arme in his mouth, and bit so harde, as he would have eaten it of. The other feeling him bite so harde, let goe his holde straight, and sayed unto him: What Alcibiades, bitest thou like a woman? No mary doe I not (quoth he) but like a lyon. Another time being but a litle boye, he played at skayles in the middest of the streete with other of his companions, and when his turne came about to throwe, there came a carte loden by chaunce that waye: Alcibiades prayed the carter to staye a while, untill he had played out his game, bicause the skailes were set right in the high way where the carte should passe over. The carter was a stubborne knave, and would not staye for any request the boye could make, but drave his horse on still, in so much as other boyes gave backe to let him goe on: but Alcibiades fell flat to the grounde before the carte, and bad the carter drive over and he durste. The carter being afeard, plucked backe his horse to staye them: the neighbours flighted to see the daunger, ranne to the boye in all hast crying out.

Alcibiades studied.

AFTERWARDS when he was put to schoole to learne, he was very obedient to all his masters that taught him any thing, saving that he disdained to learne to playe of the flute or recorder: saying, that it was no gentlemanly qualitie. For, sayed he, to playe on the vyoll with a sticke, doth not alter mans favour, nor disgraceth any gentleman: but otherwise, to playe on the flute, his

countenaunce altereth and chaungeth so ofte, that his familiar friends can scant knowe him. Moreover, the harpe or vyoll doth not let him that playeth on them, from speaking, or singing as he playeth: where he that playeth on the flute, holdeth his mouth so harde to it, that it taketh not only his wordes from him, but his voyce. Therefore, sayed he, let the children of the Thebans playe on the flute, that cannot tell howe to speake: as for us Athenians, we have (as our forefathers tell us) for protectours and patrones of our countrie, the goddesse Pallas, and the god Apollo: of the which the one in olde time (as it is sayed) brake the flute, and the other pulled his skinne over his eares, that played upon the flute. Thus Alcibiades alledging these reasons, partely in sporte, and partely in good earnest: dyd not only him selfe leave to learne to playe on the flute, but he turned his companions mindes also quite from it. For these wordes of Alcibiades, ranne from boye to boye incontinently: that Alcibiades had reason to despise playing of the flute, and that he mocked all those that learned to play of it. So afterwards, it fell out at Athens, that teaching to playe of the flute, was put out of the number of honest and liberall exercises, and the flute it selfe was thought a vile instrument, and of no reputation.

Alcibiades versus Timon.

AND on a daye as he came from the counsaill and assembly of the cittie, where he had made an excellent oration, to the great good liking and acceptation of all the hearers, and by meanes thereof had obtained the thing he desired, and was accompanied with a great traine that followed him to his honour: Timon, surnamed Misanthropus (as who would saye, Loup-garou, or the manhater) meeting Alcibiades thus accompanied, dyd not passe by him, nor gave him waye (as he was wont to doe to all other men) but went straight to him, and tooke him by the hande, and sayed: O, thou dost well my sonne, I can thee thancke, that thou goest on, and climest up still: for if ever thou be in authoritie, woe be unto those that followe thee, for they are utterly undone. When they had heard these wordes, those that stooode by fell a laughing: other reviled Timon, other againe marked well his wordes, and thought of them many a time after, suche sundry opinions they had of him for the unconstancie of his life, and waywardnes of his nature and conditions.

Alcibiades in Sparta.

AND if he were welcome, and well esteemed in Sparta, for the service he dyd to the common wealth: much more he wanne the love and good willes of private men, for that he lived after the Laconian manner. So as they that sawe his skinne scraped to the fleshe, and sawe him washe him selfe in cold water, and howe he dyd eate browne bread, and suppe of their blacke brothe: would have doubted (or to saye better, never have beleevved) that suche a man had ever kept cooke in his house, nor that he ever had seene so muche as a perfuming panne, or had touched clothe of tissue made at Miletum. For among other qualities and properties he had (whereof he was full) this as they saye was one, whereby he most robbed mens hartes: that he could frame altogether with their manners and facions of life, transforming him selfe more easely to all manner of shapes, then the Camelion. For it is reported, that the Camelion cannot take white culler: but Alcibiades could put upon him any manners, customes or facions, of what nation soever, and could followe, exercise, and counterfeate them when he would, aswell the good as the bad. For in Sparta, he was very paynefull, and in continuall exercise: he lived sparingly with litle, and led a straight life. In Ionia, to the contrary: there he lived daintely and superfluously, and gave him self to all mirth and pleasure. In Thracia, he dranke ever, or was allwayes a horse backe. If he came to Tissaphernes, lieutenant of the mightie king of Persia: he farre exceeded the magnificence of Persia in pompe and sumptuousnes. And these things notwithstanding, never altered his naturall condition from one facion to another, neither dyd his manners (to saye truely) receyve all sortes of chaunges. But because peradventure, if he had shewed his naturall disposition, he might in divers places where he came, have offended those whose companie he kept, he dyd with such a viser and cloke disguise him selfe, to fit their manners, whom he companied with, by transforming him selfe into their naturall countenance.

Alcibiades restored the olde ceremonies.

AND it fell out, that after the Lacedaemonians had taken and fortified the cittie of Decelea, within the territorie of Attica, and that the enemies being the stronger in the field, dyd keepe the waye going from Athens to Eleusin, so as by no possible meanes

they could make their solemne procession by lande, with suche honour and devotion as they were before accustomed to doe: and thereby all the sacrifices, dawnces, and many other holy deuowte ceremonies they were wonte to doe by the waye, in singing the holy songe of Iacchus, came of very necessitie to be left of, and cleane layed a side. Then Alcibiades thought he should doe a meritorious dede to the godds, and an acceptable to men, to bring the olde ceremonies up againe upon the said feast: and thereupon purposed to accompanie the procession, and defend it by power, against all invasion and disturbaunce by the enemies. As one that foresawe one of those two things would come to passe. Either that Agis king of the Lacedaemonians would not sturre at all against the sacred ceremonies, and by this meanes should much imbase and diminishe his reputation and glorie: or if hedyd come out to the field, that he would make the battell very grate full to the goddes, considering it should be in defence of their most holy feast and worshippe, and in the sight of his countrie, where the people should see and witnesse both, his valliantnes, and also his corage. Alcibiades being fully resolved upon this procession, went and made the priestes Eumolpides, their vergers, and other their ministers and officers of these mysteries, privie to his determination. Then he sent out skowtes to watche on the side of the hilles thereabouts, and to viewe the waye of their perambulation. The next morning very early he sent out light horsemen also to scowre the countrie. Then he made the priestes, the professed, and all the ministers of religion, goe in procession, together with those that followed the same: and he him selfe compassed them about with his armie on every side, marching in battell raye, and very good order, and with great silence. This was an honorable and deuoute leading of an armie, and suche as if his greatest enemies would confesse a trothe, they could not but saye, Alcibiades had as much shewed the office of a highe bishoppe, as of a noble souldier and good captaine. So he ended this procession, returning to Athens in all safe order againe, and not an enemy that durst once looke out into the field to set upon him. Now this dyd more increase the greatnes of his minde, and therewith the peoples good opinion of his sufficiencie, and wise conduction of an armie: in so much as they thought him unvincible, having the soveraine power and authoritie of a generall.

Alcibiades honorable returne into his countrie.

Now Alcibiades desirous in the ende to see his native countrie againe (or to speake more truely, that his contry men should see him) after he had so many times overthrowen their enemies in battell: he hoysed saile, and directed his course towardes Athens, bringing with him all the gallyes of the Athenians richely furnished, and decked all about, with skutchines and targettes, and other armour and weapon gotten amongst the spoyles of his enemies. Moreover, he brought with him many other shippes, which he had wonne and broken in the warres, besides many ensignes and other ornaments: all which being compted together one with the other, made up the number of two hundred shippes. Furthermore, where Duris Samian writeth (who challengeth that he came of his house) that at his returne one Chrysogonus, an excellent player of the flute (that had wonne certaine of the Pythian games) dyd playe suche a note, that at the sounde thereof the galley slaves would keepe stroke with their owers, and that Callipides another excellent player of tragedies, playing the parte of a comedie, dyd sturre them to rowe, being in suche players garments as every master of suche science useth commonly to weare, presenting him selfe in Theater or stage before the people to shewe his arte: and that the admirall galley wherein him self was, entred the haven with a purple saile, as if some maske had come into a mans house after some great banket made: neither Ephorus, nor Theopompus, nor Xenophon, make any mention of this at all. Furthermore, me thinkes it should not be true, that he returning from exile after so long a banishment, and having passed over such sorowes and calamities as he had susteined, would so prowdly and presumptuously shewe him selfe unto the Athenians. But merely contrarie, it is most certain, that he returned in great feare and doubt. For when he was arrived in the haven of Piraea, he would not set foote a lande, before he first sawe his nephewe Euryptolemus, and divers other of his friendes from the hatches of his shippe, standing upon the sandes in the haven mouthe. Who were come thither to receyve and welcome him, and tolde him that he might be bolde to lande, without feare of any thing. He was no soner landed, but all the people ranne out of every corner to see him, with so great love and affection, that they tooke no heede of the other captaines that came with him, but clustred all to him only, and cried out for joye to

see him. Those that could come neere him, dyd welcome and embrace him: but all the people wholly followed him. And some that came to him, put garlands of flowers upon his head: and those that could not come neere him, sawe him a farre off, and the olde folkes dyd pointe him out to the yonger sorte. But this common joye was mingled notwithstanding, with teares and sorowe, when they came to thinke upon their former misfortunes and calamities, and to compare them with their present prosperitie: waying with them selves also how they had not lost Sicilia, nor their hope in all things els had failed them, if they had delivered them selves and the charge of their armie into Alcibiades hands, when they sent for him to appeare in persone before them. Considering also how he found the cittie of Athens in manner put from their seigniorie and commandement on the sea, and on the other side how their force by lande was brought into such extremitie, that Athens scantly could defend her suburbes, the cittie self being so devided and turmoiled with civill dissention: yet he gathered together those fewe, and small force that remained, and had now not only restored Athens to her former power and soveraintie on the sea, but had made her also a conquerer by lande.

Alcibiades oration to the people.

THE people being assembled all in counsaill, Alcibiades came before them, and made an oration: wherein he first lamented all his mishappes, and founde him selfe grieved a litle with the wronges they had offred him, yet he imputed all in the ende to his cursed fortune, and some spightfull god that envied his glorie and prosperitie. Then he dilated at large the great hope their enemies had to have advantage of them: and therewithall perswaded the people to be of good corage, and afearred of nothing that was to come. And to conclude, the people crowned him with crownes of golde, and chose him generall againe of Athens, with soveraine power and authoritie both by lande as by sea.

P E R I C L E S

Pericles manners and behaviour.

PERICLES made marvelous much of Anaxagoras, who had fully instructed him in the knowledge of naturall things, and of those specially that worke above in the ayer and firmament. For he grewe not only to have a great minde and an eloquent tongue, without any affectation, or grosse countrie termes: but to a certain modest countenance that scantly smyled, very sober in his gate, having a kynde of sounde in his voyce that he never lost nor altered, and was of very honest behaviour, never troubled in his talke for any thing that crossed him, and many other suche like things, as all that sawe them in him, and considered them, could but wonder at him. But for prooffe hereof, the reporte goeth, there was a naughty busy fellowe on a time, that a whole daye together dyd nothing but rayle upon Pericles in the market place, and revile him to his face, with all the villanous wordes he could use. But Pericles put all up quietly, and gave him not a worde againe, dispatching in the meane time matters of importance he had in hand, untill night came, that he went softly home to his house, shewing no alteration nor semblaunce of trouble at all, though this lewde varlet followed him at the heeles, with wordes of open defamation. And as he was ready to enter in at his owne doores, being darke night, he commaunded one of his men to take a torche, and to bring this man home to his house.

Sumptuous buildings erected by Pericles.

BUT that which deliteth most, and is the greatest ornament unto the cittie of Athens, which maketh straungers most to wonder, and which alone doth bring sufficient testimonie, to confirme that which is reported of the auncient power, riches, and great wealthe of Grece, to be true and not false: are the stately and sumptuous buildings, which Pericles made to be built in the cittie of Athens. For it is the only acte of all other Pericles dyd, and which made his enemies most to spight him, and which they most accused him for, crying out upon him in all counsailes and

assemblies: that the people of Athens were openly defamed, for carying awaye the ready money of all Grece, which was left in the Ile of Delos to be safely kept there. And although they could with good honestie have excused this facte, saying that Pericles had taken it from them, for feare of the Barbarous people, to the ende to laye it up in a more stronger place, where it should be in better safetie: yet was this to overgreat an injurie offered unto all the rest of Grece, and to manifest a token of tyranie also, to beholde before their eyes, howe we doe employe the money, which they were inforced to gather for the maintenaunce of the warres against the barbarous people, in gilding, building, and setting forth our cittie, like a glorious woman, all to be gawded with golde and precious stones, and howe we doe make images, and build up temples of wonderfull and infinite charge. Pericles replied to the contrarie, and declared unto the Athenians that they were not bounde to make any accompt of this money unto their friendes and allies, considering that they fought for their safety, and that they kept the barbarous people farre from Grece, without troubling them to set out any one man, horse, or shippe of theirs, the money only excepted, which is no more theirs that payed it, then theirs that receyved it, so they bestowe it to that use they receyved it for. And their cittie being already very well furnished, and provided of all things necessary for the warres, it was good reason they should employe and bestowe the surplus of the treasure in things, which in time to come (and being throughly finished) would make their fame eternall. Moreover he sayed that whilst they continue building, they should be presently riche, by reason of the diversitie of workes of all sortes, and other things which they should have neede of: and to compasse these things the better, and to set them in hande, all manner of artificers and worke men (that would labour) should be set a worke. So should all the townes men, and inhabitants of the cittie, receyve paye and wages of the common treasure: and the cittie by this meanes should be greatly beawtified, and muche more able to mainteine it selfe. For suche as were stronge, and able men of bodie, and of yeres to carie weapon, had paye and entertainment of the common wealthe, which were sent abroade unto the warres, and other that were not meete for warres, as craftes men, and labourers: he would also they should have parte of the common treasure, but not without they earned it, and by doing

somewhat. And this was his reason, and the cause that made him occupie the common people with great buildings, and devises of works of divers occupations, which could not be finished of long time: to the ende that the cittizens remaining at home, might have a meane and waye to take parte of the common treasure, and enriche them selves, aswell as those that went to the warres, and served on the sea, or els that laye in garrison to keepe any place or forte. For some gayned by bringing stufte: as stones, brasse, yvory, gold, ebbany, and cypres. Other got, to worke and facion it: as carpinters, gravers, fownders, casters of images, masons, hewers of stone, dyers, goldsmithes, joyners working in yvorie, painters, men that set in sundrie cullers of peces of stone or wodde, and turners. Other gayned to bring stufte, and to furnishe them: as marchaunts, mariners, and shippemasters, for things they brought them by sea. And by lande other got also: as carte makers, cariers, carters, corde makers, sadlers, collermakers, and pyoners to make wayes plaine, and miners, and such like. Furthermore, every science and crafte, as a captaine having souldiers, had also their armie of the worke men that served them, labouring truely for their living, who served as prentises and jorney men under the workemasters: so the worke by this meanes dyd disperse abroad a common gayne to all sortes of people and ages, what occupation or trade soever they had. And thus came the buildings to rise in greatnes and sumptuousnes, being of excellent workemanshippe, and for grace and beawtie not comparable: bicause every workeman in his science dyd strive what he could to excell others, to make his worke appeare greatest in sight, and to be most workemanly done in showe. But the greatest thing to be woundred at, was their speede and diligence. For where every man thought those workes were not likely to be finished in many mens lives and ages, and from man to man: they were all done and finished, whilst one only governour continued still in credit and authoritie. And yet they saye, that in the same time, as one Agatarchus boasted him self, that he had quickly painted certen beastes: Zeuxis another painter hearing him, aunswered: And I contrarie doe rejoyce, that I am a long time in drawing of them. For commonly slight and sodaine drawing of any thing, cannot take deepe cullers, nor geve perfect beawty to the worke: but length of time, adding to the painters diligence and labour in making of the worke, maketh the

cullers to continue for ever. For this cause therefore the workes Pericles made, are more wonderfull: bicause they were perfectly made in so shorte a time, and have continued so long a season. For every one of those which were finished up at that time, seemed then to be very auncient touching the beawtie thereof: and yet for the grace and continuance of the same, it looketh at this daye as if it were but newly done and finished, there is suche a certaine kynde of florishing freshnes in it, which letteth that the injurie of time cannot impaire the sight thereof: As if every one of those foresaid workes, had some living spirite in it, to make it seeme young and freshe: and a soule that lived ever, which kept them in their good continuing state.

The force of eloquence.

FOR as it falleth out commonly unto people that enjoye so great an empire: many times misfortunes doe chaunce, that fill them full of sundrie passions, the which Pericles alone could finely steere and governe with two principall rudders, feare, and hope: brideling with the one, the fierce and insolent rashenes of the common people in prosperitie, and with the other comforting their grief and discouragement in adversitie. Wherein he manifestly proved, that rethorike and eloquence (as Plato sayeth) is an arte which quickeneth mens spirites at her pleasure, and her chieftest skill is, to knowe howe to move passions and affections throughly, which are as stoppes and soundes of the soule, that would be played upon with a fine fingered hand of a conning master. All which, not the force of his eloquence only brought to passe, as Thucydides witnesseth: but the reputation of his life, and the opinion and confidence they had of his great worthines, bicause he would not any waye be corrupted with gifts, neither had he any covetousnes in him.

Pericles good husbandrie.

As for his landes and goodes left him by his parents, that they miscaried not by negligence, nor that they should trouble him much, in busying him self to reduce them to a value: he dyd so husband them, as he thought was his best and easiest waye. For he solde in grosse ever the whole yeres profit and commoditie of his landes .and afterwardes sent to the market daylie to buye the

cates, and other ordinarie provision of housholde. This dyd not like his sonnes that were men growen, neither were his women contented with it, who would have had him more liberall in his house, for they complained of his overhard and straight ordinarie, bicause in so noble and great a house as his, there was never any great remaine left of meate, but all things receyved into the house, ranne under accompt, and were delivered out by proportion. All this good husbandrie of his, was kept upright in this good order, by one Evangelus, Steward of his house, a man very honest and skillful in ordering his householde provision: and whether Pericles had brought him up to it, or that he had it by nature, it was not knowen. But these things were farre contrarie to Anaxagoras wisdom. For he despising the world, and casting his affection on heavenly things: dyd willingly forsake his house, and suffered all his lande to runne to layes and to pasture. But (in my opinion) great is the diversitie betwene a contemplative life, and a civill life. For the one employeth all his time upon the speculation of good and honest things: and to attaine to that, he thinketh he hath no neede of any exteriour helpe or instrument. The other applying all his time upon vertue, to the common profit and benefit of men: he thinketh that he needeth riches, as an instrument not only necessarie, but also honest.

Pericles goes to the rescue at Samos.

PERICLES being advertised of the overthrowe of his armie, returned presently to the rescue. Melissus went to mete him, and gave him battell: but he was overthrowen, and driven backe into his cittie, where Pericles walled them in round about the cittie, desiring victorie rather by time and charge, than by daunger, and losse of his souldiers. But when he sawe that they were wearie with tract of time, and that they would bring it to hazard of battell, and that he could by no meanes withholde them: he then divided his armie into eight companies, whom he made to drawe lots, and that companie that lighted on the white beane, they should be quiet and make good cheere, while the other seven fought. And they saye that from thence it came, that when any have made good cheere, and taken pleasure abroad, they doe yet call it a white daye, bicause of the white beane. Ephorus the historiographer writeth, that it was there, where first of all they

beganne to use engines of warre to plucke down great walles, and that Pericles used first this wonderfull invention: and that Artemon an enginer was the first deviser of them. He was caried up and downe in a chayer, to set forward these workes, bicause he had a lame legge: and for this cause he was called Periphoretos. But Heraclides Ponticus confuteth Ephorus therein, by the verses of Anacreon, in the which Artemon is called Periphoretos, many yeres before this warre of Samos beganne: and sayeth that this Periphoretos was a marvelous tender man, and so foolishly afeard of his owne shadowe, that the most parte of his time he sturred not out of his house, and did sit allwayes having two of his men by him, that held a copper target over his head, for feare least any thing should fall upon him. And if upon any occasion he were driven, to goe abroade out of his house: he would be caried in a litle bed hanging neere the grounde, and for this cause he was surnamed Periphoretos. At the last, at nine moneths ende the Samians were compelled to yeld. So Pericles tooke the cittie, and rased their walles to the grounde: he brought their shippes awaye, and made them paye a marvelous great tribute, whereof parte he receyved in hande, and the rest payable at a certain time, taking ostages with him for assurance of payment.

The Lacedaemonians invade Attica.

So IT fortun'd, that the Lacedaemonians with all their friends and confederates, brought a marvelous armie into the countrie of Attica, under the leading of king Archidamus: who burning and spoyling all the countries he came alongest, they came unto the towne of Acharnes, were they incamped, supposing the Athenians would never suffer them approche so neere, but that they would give them battell for the honour and defence of their countrie, and to shewe that they were no cowardes. But Pericles wisely considered howe the daunger was to great to hazard battell, where the losse of the cittie of Athens stode in perill, seing they were three score thousand footemen of the Peloponnesians, and of the Boeotians together: for so many was their number in the first voyage they made against the Athenians. And as for those that were very desirous to fight, and to put them selves to any hazard, being mad to see their countrie thus wasted and destroyed before their eyes, Pericles dyd comforte and pacifie them

with these wordes: That trees being cut and hewen downe, dyd spring againe in shorte time: but men being once dead, by no possibilitie could be brought againe. Therefore he never durst assemble the people in counsell, fearing least he should be inforced by the multitude, to doe some thing against his will. But as a wise man of a shippe, when he seeth a storme coming on the sea, doth straight geve order to make all things safe in the shippe, preparing every thing readie to defende the Storme, according to his arte and skill, not harkening to the passengers fearefull cries and pittiefull teares, who thinke them selves cast away: even so dyd Pericles rule all things according to his wisdom, having walled the cittie substantially about, and set good watche in every corner: and passed not for those that were angrie and offended with him, neither would be persuaded by his friends earnest requests and intreaties, neither cared for his enemies threatens nor accusations against him, nor yet reckoned of all their foolish scoffing songes they songe of him in the cittie, to his shame and reproche of government, saying that he was a cowardly capitaine, and that for dastardlines he let the enemies take all, and spoyle what they would.

Pericles sicknes and death.

Now was Pericles at that time infected with the plague, but not so vehemently as other were, rather more temperatly: and by long space of time, with many alterations and chaunges, that dyd by litle and litle decaye, and consume the strength of his bodie, and overcame his sences and noble minde. Therefore Theophrastus in his moralles declareth, in a place where he disputeth, whether mens manners doe chaunge with their misfortunes, and whether corporall troubles and afflictions doe so alter men, that they forget vertue, and abandon reason: that Pericles in this sicknes shewed a friends of his that came to see him, I cannot tell what a preserving charme the women had tyed (as a carkanet) about his necke, to let him understand he was very ill, since he suffered them to apply suche a foolish bable to him. In the ende, Pericles drawing fast unto his death, the Nobilitie of the cittie, and such his friendes as were left alive, standing about his bed, beganne to speake of his vertue, and of the great authoritie he had borne, considering the greatnes of his noble actes, and courtting

the number of the victories he had wonne (for he had wonne nine foughten battells being generall of the Athenians, and had set up so many tokens and triumphs in honour of his countrie) they reckoned up among them selves, all these matters, as if he had not understoode them, imagining his sences had bene gone. But he contrarilie being yet of perfect memorie, heard all what they had sayed, and thus he beganne to speake unto them: That he marveled why they had so highly praysed that in him, which was common to many other captaines, and wherein fortune delt with them in equalitie a like, and all this while they had forgotten to speake of the best and most notable thing that was in him, which was: that no Athenian had ever worne blacke gowne through his occasion. And suer so was he a noble and worthie persone. For he dyd not only shewe him selfe mercifull and curteous, even in most weightie matters of government, among so envious people and hatefull enemies: but he had this judgement also to thincke, that the most noble actes he dyd were these, that he never gave him selfe unto hatred, envie, nor choller, to be revenged of his most mortall enemye, without mercy shewed towards him, though he had committed unto him suche absolute power and sole government among them. And this made his surname to be Olympius (as to saye, divine or celestiall) which otherwise for him had bene to prowde and arrogant a name, bicause he was of so good and gentle a nature, and for that in so great libertie he had kept cleane handes and undefiled: even as we esteeme the goddes authors of all good, and causers of no ill, and so worthy to governe and rule the whole monarchie of the world. And not as Poets saye, which doe confounde our wittes by their follies, and fonde faynings, and are also contrarie to them selves, considering that they call heaven (which containeth the goddes) the everlasting seate, which trembleth not, and is not driven nor moved with windes, neither is darkened with clowdes, but is allwayes bright and cleare, and at all times shyning equally with a pure bright light, as being the only habitation and mansion place of the eternall God, only happy and immortall. And afterwarde they describe it them selves, full of dissentions, of enmities, of anger and passions, which doe nothing become wise and learned men. But this discourse peradventure would be better spoken of in some other booke.

DEMOSTHENES

The parentage of Demosthenes.

DEMOSTHENES the father of this Orator Demosthenes, was as Theopompus writeth, one of the chiefe men of the citie, and they called him Machaeropoeus, to wete, a maker of sworde blades, bicause he had a great shoppe where he kept a number of slaves to forge them. But touching Aeschynes, the Orators report of his mother, who said that she was the Daughter of one Gelon (that fled from Athens beeing accused of treason) and of a barbarous woman that was her mother: I am not able to say whether it be true, or devised of malice to doe him despite. Howsoever it was, it is true that his father died, leaving him seven yeare olde, and left him reasonable wel: for his goods came to litle lesse then the value of fifteene talents. Howbeit his gardians did him great wronge: for they stole a great parte of his goods them selves, and did let the rest runne to naught, as having litle care of it, for they would not pay his schoolemaisters their wages. And this was the cause that he did not learne the liberall sciences which are usually taught unto honest mens sonnes: and to further that want also, he was but a weakling, and very tender, and therefore his mother would not much let him goe to schoole, nether his masters also durst keepe him too hard to it, bicause he was but a sickly childe at the first, and very weake.

Demosthenes mocked.

FOR at the first, beginning to practise oratorie for recoverie of his goods, and thereby having gotten good skill and knowledge how to pleade: he afterwards tooke upon him to speake to the people in assemblies, touching the government of the common wealth, even as if he should have contended for some game of price, and at length did excell all the Orators at that time that got up into the pulpit for orations: notwithstanding that when he first ventred to speake openly, the people made such a noyse, that he could scant be heard, and besides they mocked him for his manner of speeche that was so straunge, bicause he used so

many long confused peryods, and his matter he spake of was so intricate with arguments one upon another, that they were tedious, and made men weary to heare him. And furthermore, he had a very soft voice, an impediment in his tongue, and had also a short breath, the which made that men could not well understand what he ment, for his long periods in his oration were oftentimes interrupted, before he was at the ende of his sentence. So that at length, perceiving he was thus rejected, he gave over to speake any more before the people, and halfe in dispaire withdrew him selfe into the haven of Piraea. There Eunomus the Thessalian beeing a very olde man, founde him, and sharply reproved him, and told him that he did him selfe great wronge, considering, that having a manner of speeche much like unto Pericles, he drowned him selfe by his faynt harte, bicause he did not seeke the way to be bolde against the noyse of the common people, and to arme his body to away with the paines and burden of publike orations, but suffering it to growe feebler, for lacke of use and practise. Furthermore, being once againe repulsed and whistled at, as he returned home, hanging downe his heade for shame, and utterly discouraged: Satyrus an excellent player of comedies, being his famillier friende, followed him, and went and spake with him. Demosthenes made his complaynt unto him, that where he had taken more paynes then all the Orators besides, and had almost even worne him selfe to the bones with studie, yet he could by no meanes devise to please the people: whereas other Orators that did nothing but bybbe all day long, and Maryners that understoode nothing, were quietly heard, and continually occupied the pulpit with orations: and on thother side that they made no accompt of him. Satyrus then aunswered him, Thou sayest true Demosthenes, but care not for this, I will helpe it straight, and take away the cause of all this: so thou wilt but tell me without booke certaine verses of Euripides, or of Sophocles. Thereupon Demosthenes presently rehearsed some unto him, that came into his minde. Satyrus repeating them after him, gave them quite another grace, with such a pronounciation, comely gesture, and modest countenance becomming the verses, that Demosthenes thought them cleane chaunged. Whereby perceiving how much the action (to wete, the comely manner and gesture in his oration) doth give grace and comelines in his pleading: he then thought it but a trifle, and almost nothing to speake

of, to exercise to pleade well, unles therewithall he doe also study to have a good pronounciation and gesture. Thereuppon he built him a celler under the ground, the which was whole even in my time, and he would daily goe downe into it, to facion his gesture and pronounciation, and also to exercise his voice, and that with such earnest affection, that oftentimes he would be there two or three monethes one after an other, and did shave his heade of purpose, bicause he durst not goe abroad in that sorte, although his will was good. And yet he tooke his theame and matter to declame apon, and to practise to pleade of the matters he had had in hande before, or els upon occasion of such talke as he had with them that came to see him, while he kept his house. For they were no sooner gone from him, but he went downe into his celler, and repeated from the first to the last all matters that had passed betwene him and his friendes in talke together, and alleaged also both his owne and their aunswers. And if peradventure he had bene at the hearing of any long matter, he would repeat it by him selfe: and would finely cowche and convey it into proper sentences, and thus chaunge and alter every way any matter that he had heard, or talked with others. Thereof came the opinion men had of him, that he had no very quicke capacitie by nature, and that his eloquence was not naturall, but artificially gotten with extreame labor. And for prooffe hereof, they make this probable reason, that they never sawe Demosthenes make any oration on the suddein, and that oftentimes when he was sette in the assemblie, the people would call him by his name, to say his opinion touching the matter of counsell then in hand: howbeit that he never rose upon their call, unles he had first studied the matter well he would speake of. So that all the other Orators would many times give him a tawnte for it: as Pytheas among other, that tawnting him on a tyme, tolde him, his reasons smelled of the lampe. Yea, replied Demosthenes sharply againe: so is there great difference, Pytheas, betwixt thy labor and myne by lampelight.

Demosthenes by industry reformeth his defects of nature.

BUT now for his bodily defects of nature, Demetrius Phalerian writeth, that he heard Demosthenes him selfe say, being very olde, that he did helpe them by these meanes. First, touching the stammering of his tongue, which was very fat, and made him that

he could not pronounce all syllables distinctly: he did helpe it by putting of litle pybble stones into his mouth, which he found upon the sands by the rivers side, and so pronounced with open mouth the orations he had without booke. And for his smal and soft voice, he made that lowder, by running up steepe and high hills, uttering even with full breath some orations or verses that he had without booke. And further it is reported of him, that he had a great looking glasse in his house, and ever standing on his feete before it, he would learne and exercise him selfe to pronounce his orations. For prooffe hereof it is reported, that there came a man unto him on a time, and prayed his helpe to defend his cause, and tolde him that one had beaten him: and that Demosthenes sayd agayne unto him, I doe not beleeeve this is true thou tellest me, for surely the other did never beate thee. The playntif then thrusting out his voyce alowde, sayde: What, hath he not beaten me? Yes, in deede, quoth Demosthenes then: I beleeeve it now, for I heare the voyce of a man that was beaten in deede. Thus he thought, that the sound of the voyce, the pronounciation or gesture in one sort or other, were thinges of force to beleeeve or discredit that a man sayth.

Demosthenes flieth from the battell at Thermodon.

UNTIL this present time, Demosthenes shewed him selfe alwaies an honest man: but when it came to the battell, he fled like a coward, and did no valliant acte any thing aunswerable to the orations whereby he had perswaded the people. For he left his ranck, and cowardly cast away his weapons to ronne the lighter, and was not ashamed at al, as Pythias said, of the words written upon his shield in golden letters, which were, 'Good Fortune.' Now Philip having wonne the battell, he was at that present so joyfull, that he fell to commit many fond parts. For after he had droncke well with his friends, he went into the place where the overthrow was given, and there in mockery began to sing the beginning of the decree which Demosthenes had preferred, (by the which, the Athenians accordingly proclaimed warres against him) rising and falling with his voyce, and dauncing it in measure with his foote:

Demosthenes, the sonne of Demosthenes Paeanian did put
forth this.

But afterwards beginning to waxe sober, and leaving his dronck-

ennes, and that he had remembred him selfe what daunger he had bene in: then his heare stood bolt upright upon his head, considering the force and power of such an Orator, that in a peece of a day had inforced him to hazard his Realme and life at a battell.

The death of Philip king of Macedon.

Now Demosthenes hearing of Philips death, before the newes were openly known, to prevent them, he would put the people again into a good hope of better lucke to come. Thereupon he went with a cheerfull countenance into the assembly of the counsel, and told them there, that he had had a certain dreame that promised great good hap, and that out of hand unto the Athenians: and immediatly after, the messengers arrived that brought certain newes of king Philips death. Thereupon the Athenians made sacrifices of joy to the goddes for this happie newes, and appointed a crowne unto Pausanias that had slaine him. Demosthenes also came abroade in his best gowne, and crowned with flowers, seven dayes after the death of his daughter, as Aeschines reporteth: who reproveth him for it, and noteth him to be a man having litle love or charitie unto his owne children. But in deede Aeschines selfe deserveth more blame, to have such a tender womanish heart, as to beleve, that weeping, and lamenting, are signes of a gentle and charitable nature, condemning them that with pacience and constancie doe passe away such misfortunes. But now to the Athenians againe. I can neither thinke nor say that they did wisely to shew such open signes of joy, as to weare crownes and garlands upon their heads, nor also to sacrifice to the goddes for the death of a Prince, that behaved him selfe so Princely and curteously unto them in the victories he had won of them. For, though in dede all cruelty be subject to the revenge of the goddes, yet is this an act of a vile and base minde, to honor a man, and while he lived to make him free of their citie, and now that an other hath slaine him, they to be in such an exceeding jolitie withall, and to exceede the bondes of modestie so farre, as to rampe in maner with both their feete upon the dead, and to sing songes of victorie, as if they them selves had bene the men that had valliantly slaine him. In contrarie manner also, I praise and commend the constancie and corage of Demosthenes, that

he leaving the teares and lamentacion of his home trouble unto women, did him selfe in the meane time that he thought was for the benefite of the common wealth: and in my opinion, I thinke he did therein like a man of corage, and worthy to be a governor of a common wealth, never to stowpe nor yeeld, but alwayes to be found stable and constant, for the benefit of the common wealth, rejecting all his troubles, cares, and affections, in respect of the service of his contrie, and to keepe his honor much more carefully, then common players use to doe, when they play the partes of Kings and Princes, whom we see neither weepe nor laugh when they list, though they be on the stage: but when the matter of the play falleth out to geve them just occasion. But omitting those reasons, if there be no reason (as in deede there is not) to leave and forsake a man in his sorow and trouble, without geving him some wordes of comfort, and rather to devise some matter to asswage his sorow, and to withdraw his minde from that, to thinke upon some pleasaunter thinges: even as they should keepe sore eyes from seeing bright and glaring colours, in offering them greene and darker. And from whence can a man take greater comfort for his troubles and grieves at home, when the common wealth doth well: then to joyne their private grieves with common joyes, to the end, that the better may obscure and take away the worse? But thus farre I digressed from my historie, enlarging this matter, bicause Aeschines in his Oration touching this matter, did move the peoples hartes too much to womanish sorow.

Harpalus a great money man came to Athens, flying from Alexander.

SHORTLY after, Harpalus flying out of Alexanders service, came unto Athens, being to be charged with many fowle matters he had committed by his exceeding prodigalitie: and also bicause he feared Alexanders furie, who was growen severe and cruell, unto his chieffest servauntes. He comming now amongst the Athenians, with store of gold and silver, the Orators being greedy and desirous of the golde and silver he had brought: beganne straight to speake for him, and did counsell the people to receive and protect a poore suter that came to them for succour. But Demosthenes gave counsell to the contrarie, and bad them rather drive him out of the citie, and take heede they brought not

warres apon their backs, for a matter that not onely was not necessarie, but furthermore meerely unjust. But within fewe daies after, inventory being taken of all Harpalus goods, he perceiving that Demosthenes tooke great pleasure to see a cuppe of the kings, and considered verie curiously the facion and workemanshippe upon it: he gave it him in his hand, to judge what it weyed. Demosthenes peasing it, wondered at the great weight of it, it was so heavie: so he asked how many pownd weight it weyed. Harpalus smiling, answered him: It will wey thee twentie talents. So when night was come, he sent him the cuppe, with the twentie talentes. This Harpalus was a verie wise man, and found straight by Demosthenes countenance that he loved money, and could presently judge his nature, by seeing his pleasaunt countenance, and his eyes still upon the cuppe. So Demosthenes refused not his gift, and being overcomen withall, as if he had received a garrison into his house, he tooke Harpalus parte. The next morning, he went into the assemblie of the people, having his necke bound up with wolfe and rolles. So when they called him by his name to steppe up into the pulpit, to speake to the people as he had done before: he made a signe with his head, that he had an impediment in his voyce, and that he could not speake. But wise men laughing at his fine excuse, tolde him it was no sinanche that had stopped his wesill that night, as he would make them believe: but it was Harpalus argentsynanche which he had received, that made him in that case. Afterwardes when the people understoode that he was corrupted, Demosthenes going about to excuse him selfe, they would not abide to heare him: but made a noyse and exclamacion against him. Thereuppon there rose up a pleasaunt conceited man, that sayd: Why my maisters, do ye refuse to heare a man that hath such a golden tongue?

The difference betwext Demosthenes and Ciceroes death.

AND last of all, me thinketh the death of Cicero most pitiefull, to see an olde man caried up and downe, (with tender love of his servauntes) seeking all the waies that might be to flie death, which did not long prevent his naturall course: and in the ende, olde as he was, to see his head so pitiefully cut of. Whereas Demosthenes, though he yeilded a litle, intreating him that came

to take him: yet for that he had prepared the poyson long before, that he had kept it long, and also used it as he did, he can not but be marvelously commended for it. For sith the god Neptune denyed him the benefit of his sanctuarie, he betooke him to a greater, and that was death. . . .

TIMOLEON

The miseries and calamities of Dionysius the tyran.

WHO was borne and brought up in the greatest and most famous tyrannie, and kingdome, conquered by force, that ever was in the world: and which him selfe had kept by the space of tenne yeares after the death of his father. Since Dion drave him out, he had bene marvelously turmoyled in warres, by the space of twelve yeares: in which time, although he had done muche mischief, yet he had suffered also a great deale more. For he sawe the death of his sonnes when they were men growen, and able to serve and cary armor. He saw his daughters ravished by force, and deflowred of their virginitee. He saw his owne sister (who was also his wife) first of all shamed, and cruelly handled in her person, with the greatest villanies and most vile partes done unto her, that his enemies could devise: and afterwards horribly murdered with his children, and their bodies in the end throwen into the sea, as we have more amply declared in the life of Dion. Now when Dionysius was arryved in the cittie of Corinthe, every Graecian was wonderfull desirous to go see him, and to talke with him. And some went thither very glad of his overthrow, as if they had troden him downe with their feete, whom fortune had overthrowen, so bitterly did they hate him. Other pittiyng him in their heartes, to see so great a chaunge, did behold him as it were with a certaine compassion, considering what great power, secret and divine causes have over mens weaknes and frailtie, and those thinges that daily passeth over our heades. For the world then, did never bring forth any worke of nature, or of mans hand so wonderful, as was this of fortune. Who made the world see a man, that before was in maner Lorde and Kinge of all Sicile, sit then commonly in the cittie of Corinthe, talking with a vitailer, or sitting a whole day in a perfumers shoppe, or commonly drink-

ing in some celler or taverne, or to brawle and scolde in the midst of the streetes, with common whores in face of the world, or els to teach common minstrels in every lane and alley, and to dispute with them with the best reason he had, about the harmony and musike, of the songs they sang in the Theaters. Now some say he did this, bicause he knew not els how he should drive the time away, for that in dede he was of a base mynde, and an effeminate person, given over to all dishonest lusts and desires. Other are of opinion, he did it to be the lesse regarded, for feare lest the Corinthians should have him in gealouzy and suspicion, imagining that he did take the chaunge and state of his lyfe in grievous part, and that he should yet looke backe, hoping for a tyme to recover his state againe: and that for this cause he did it, and of purpose fained many thinges against his nature, seeming to be a starke nideotte, to see him do those thinges he did.

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But now if the tyraunt Dionysius wretched state seeme straunge, Timoleons prosperitie then was no lesse wonderfull. For within fiftie dayes after he had set foote in Sicile, he had the castel of Syracusa in his possession, and sent Dionysius as an exile to Corinthe.

P E L O P I D A S

Conspiracie against the Lacedaemonians, for the libertie of Thebes.

PELOPIDAS was the first man offered him selfe to undertake the enterprise: and after him Melon, Damoclidas, and Theopompus, all three, men of the greatest houses of Thebes, who loved marvelously together, and for no respect would ever offend one another, although from the beginning there was ever emulation among them for honor and glory, by striving who should exceede other in vertue and valliantnes. Now they were twelve of them, who taking leave of the rest, sent a foote post before to Charon, to advertise him of their comming: and they them selves went on their jorney casting litle short clokes upon them, and taking houndes with them, and hunters staves in their handes, bicause their enterprise should not be mistrusted by those that met them on the way, and that they should thinke them hunters up and

downe the feildes for their pleasure. So, when their messenger they sent came to the cittie, and had tolde Charon that they were comming: he never shronke from his worde, though the daunger towarde was great, but like a stowt and honest man did abide by his promise he made, and tolde him they should be most hartely welcom to his house. But another man called Hipposthenidas, very honest otherwise, and one that loved his contry and the preservation thereof, and a good frend of those also that were banished: fainting straight apou the sodaine report of these newes and his minde was troubled, and his hart fayled him so, as his nose fell a bleeding, to thinke apou the greatnes of the instant daunger he was like to fal into, having never cast before with him selfe, how by this enterprise they shoulde put all the empire of the Lacedaemonians in hazard of utter destruction, and laye a plat besides to overthrowe all their owne common weale and state, by laying al their hope apou a fewe banished men, hardly able to wade through with their enterprise. Whereupon, so sone as he was come home, he secretly dispatched a messenger, one of his familiiar frends, unto Melon and Pelopidas, to will them they should deferre their enterprise for better oportunitie, and so to returne backe again to Athens. Chlidon was the man he sent of this message, who presently went home to his house: and taking his horse out of the stable, bad his wife fetche him the brydell quickly. The brydell not being readily to be founde, she told him she had lent it out to one of their neighbours. Then they fell a chiding together about it, and at length brake out to fowle wordes, and lastely his wife fell a cursing of him, and prayed the goddes he might have ill lucke in his jorney, and those that sent him. Chlidon having spent the most part of the day, chiding and brawling with his wife about the brydell, and furthermore misliking the tokens of his wives cursing and banning of him: he determined not to goe a foote out of the dores of that arrant, and so went about some other busines. Thus had this noble enterprise in manner bene altogether dashed, before it was fully begonne.

Pelopidas commeth into Thebes disguised in cloynes apparel.

NOWE those that were in Pelopidas companie, chaunged apparell with the contrie men, bicause they woulde not be knowen, and dið deuide them selves, for that they would not come into the

cittie all together, but at diuers gates, beinge day light. At that time it was a mervelous winde and great snowe, and the weather was so boysterous, that every man got him within dores: which fell out happily for the conspirators, that they were not knowen when they came into the cittie. So their frendes and confederates within the citie receaved them as they came, and brought them to Charons house: where were assembled together, with those that were banished, eight and forty persones only. Now for the tyrans, thus stooode the matter with them. Philidas their secretary was of the conspiracy, as we have told you before, and he knewe all the practise. Wherefore he had longe before solemnely bidden Archias and his companie, to supper to his house that verie night, to be mery together, and had promised to entertaine them with women to welcome them with all: of purpose, that when they had in their full cuppes, and were in the middest of all their pleasure, the conspirators might then use them as they woulde. So they beinge sette at table, before they were sped of their cuppes, one came to them, and told them truely of the treason (not particularities, neither as a thinge certaine, but of a rumor onely that ranne abroad in the towne) howe the banished men were hidden in Charons house. Philidas woulde have passed the matter over. Howbeit Archias would nedes sende one of his garde straight for Charon, to commaunde him to come to him presently. It was within night, and Pelopidas and his company prepared themselves to worke their feate, being armed every man, and their swords in their hands, when apon a sodaine they heard one knocke at the gate. And one of the house runninge straight to the gate, came backe againe afearde to tell them that it was one of Archias garde that came for Charon, to come immediatly to the governours. Then were they in doubt that their practise was discovered, and that they were all cast away, before they coulde make any prooffe of their valliantnes: notwithstanding, they were all of opinion, that Charon should obey the message, and that he should present himselfe before the governors, to take away all suspicion from them. Charon of him selfe was a stout man, very constant, and resolute in daunger for his owne person: yet it greved him much at that time, for feare the confederates shoulde suspect him he hadde bewrayed them, if so many honest citizens whom he had lent his house unto, should unfortunately miscarie. Therefore before he went out of his

house, he went into his wives chamber to fetch his sonne, that was a goodly boy, but strong as any boy of his age could be: so he brought him to Pelopidas, and prayed him, if he understoode that he had betrayed them any way, or otherwise had sought their hurt, they shoulde then use his sonne as an enemy without any compassion towards him. When the confederates saw the good zeale and true noble mind of Charon, they all fell a weeping, and were angrie with him, that he should thinke any of them so faint harted, or timerous, for any daunger coulde come to them, that they shoulde suspect or accuse him for any thinge: and therewith all they prayed him, not to leave the boye with them, but rather to convey him into some place out of the tyrans daunger, where he might be brought up, that one day he might be revenged of the wrong and injurie they had done to them, and to their contrie. Charon aunswered them, he woulde not take him away, and that he saw no life nor health more happy for him, then to dye with his father without infamy, and with so many honest men his frends. So after he had besought the goddes to prosper them, and hadde encouraged and embraced everieone of the confederators one after an other: He went to the governors, and studied by the way so to frame his wordes and countenance, as though he shoulde seeme to thinke of any thinge else, then of that he purposed to do. When he came to Philidas dore that made the feast, Archias and Philidas him selfe came unto him, and asked him: Charon, what are they (sayd they) that are come into the city, and hidden in some house, with certaine citizens that do accompany them? Charon was somewhat abashed at the first, and asked them againe: What men be they? who are they that hides them in the citie? But when he perceived that Archias coulde tell nothinge of certaintie, then he thought straight that some man hadde informed them that was not privie to the practise, but hadde hearde some thinge of it. Thereupon he willed them to take heede it was no false alarome, to make them afrayed: Neverthesse (sayd he) I will enquire further of it: for at all adventure it is good to be circumspect in such a case to be sure. Philidas aunswered him, he said truely: and so he brought Archias backe againe into the hall, where he made him drinke deeper than before, still entertaining the company with hope of the womens comming. Charon returning home againe, found all the confederats ready to attempt their enterprise, not as

men that reckened of their lives, nor that had any hope to prevaile: but as those that were determined to dye valliantly, and to sell their lives dearly. Now he truely tolde unto Pelopidas onely, what was said unto him and the rest: he told that Archias had sent for him to speake with him, of other matters. The storme of the former daunger was scant blowen over, but fortune sent them an other. For immediatly uppon talke had with Charon at the first, came a messenger from Athens, that brought a letter to the same Archias, written by the Bishop of Athens at that time, called Archias also as him selfe, and was his old hoste and frende: wherein he wrote not of simple conjecture, nor surmised suspicion, but the plaine conspiracy in every degree, as afterwards it fell out. So the messenger was brought to Archias, that was dronke, and deliveringe him the letter, he said unto him: Sir, he that sendeth you this letter, straightly charged me to tel you, that you should presently read the contents thereof, because it is a matter of great importance. Archias laughing sayd unto him: Waighy matters to morrow. So he tooke the letter and put it up, and then fell againe to his tale he had begonne with Philidas. But ever after, the Greecians made this a common proverbe among them: Waighy matters to morrow.

Pelopidas killeth the tyrans.

Now when the conspirators spied their time to go about their businesse, they devided them selves in two companies. Pelopidas and Damoclidas went with one company, to sette upon Leontidas and Hypates, because they dwelt nere together: Charon and Melon with the rest, went against Archias and Philip, beinge disguised in womens apparell they had put upon their privy cotes, and wearing garlands of pyne apple and fyrrer trees on their heads, that covered all their faces. So when they came to shew themselves at the hall dore where the bancket was made, they that were in the hall at the first sight, thinking they had beene the women they looked for, beganne to showte, and made great noyse and joye. But when the conspirators cast their eyes rounde about the hall to knowe those which were at the table, they drew out their swordes, and set uppon Archias and Philip overthwart the table: then they shewed them selves what they were. Then Philidas bad his guesstes he hadde bidden to the bancket with

them, that they shoulde not stirre, for they shoulde have no hurt: so some of them sate still. But the greatest number of them woulde needes from the borde, to defende their governours. Howebeit bicause they were so dronke that they knewe not what they did, they were soone slaine with them. Now Pelopidas enterprise was not so easie. For they went against Leontidas, that was a sober discrete man, and withall, hardy of his handes: and they found he was gone to bed, his dores were shut up, and they knocked long before any man came to the dore. At the length, one of his men that hearde them rappe so hard, with much a do came to open the dore: but he had no sooner thrust backe the bolt of the dore, and beganne to open it, but they pushed it from them with such a force apon him altogether, that they layed him on the ground, and went straight to his maisters chamber. Leontidas hearinge the noyse of them that ranne uppe to him in such hast, presently mistrusted the matter: and leaping out of his bed, took his sworde in his hande, but did forget to put out the lampes that burned in his chamber all night, for if they hadde beene out, they might easily have hurt one an other in the darke. But the lampes givinge cleare light in the chamber, he went to the chamber dore, and gave Cephisodorus, the first man that pressed to enter apon him, such a blowe with his sword, that he dropped downe dead at his feete. Havinge slaine the first man, he dealt with the seconde that came after him, and that was Pelopidas. The fight went hard betwene them two, bothe for that the chamber dore was verie straight, as also for that Cephisodorus body lying on the ground, did choke the comming in at the chamber. Notwithstandinge, Pelopidas overcame him in the ende, and slue him: and went from thence with his companie, straight to Hypates house, where they got in, as they did into Leontidas house before.

The liberty of the Thebans restored.

BUT Hypates knewe presently what it was, and thought to save him selfe in his neighbours houses. Howebeit the conspirators followed him so harde, that they cutte him of before he could recover their houses. Then they gathered together, and joyned with Melons company, and sent immediatly with all possible speede to Athens, to the banished Thebans there, and cried

through the city, Liberty, liberty, arming those citizens that came to them, with the armor and spoyles of their enemies, that were hanged up in common vawtes, and armorers shops about Charons house, which they brake open, or caused to be opened by force. On the other side, Epaminondas, and Gorgidas, came to joyne with them, with a company of young men and honest olde men well appointed, whom they had gathered together. Hereupon, the whole citie was straight in an uprore and tumult, and every house was full of lights, one running to an other to know what the matter was. Nevertheles the people did not yet assemble together, but every one being amazed, musing at this stur, not understanding the troth, staied untill day came on, that they might call a counsell. But truely herein, me thinkes the Capitaines of the garrison of the Lacedaemonians were greatly in fault, that they did not sturre betimes, and set upon them incontinently: consideringe they were xv. hundred souldiers, besides a great number of citizens that would have come, one after an other to take their partes. But the great noyse they heard, made them afeard, and to see lights in every mans house, and the people running up and down the streets in great multitudes to and fro: wherupon they stirred not, but only kept them within the castel of Cadmea. The next morninge by breake of day, came the other banished Thebans from Athens very wel armed, and al the people of Thebes drew together in counsail. Thither did Epaminondas and Gorgidas bring Pelopidas, and his consorts, and presented them before the people, compassed about with priests and the professed of the city, offering them crownes to put upon their heads, and they praied the assembly of the citizens, that they would help their gods, and their contrie. Al the people that were present, when they saw them, rose up, and stooode on their feete, and with great showtes and clapping of hands received them, as their saviours, that had delivered their contry from bondage, and restored them again to liberty: and therupon, before them al, even in the market place, by the whole voice and consent of the people, they chose Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon, governors and capitaines of all Boeotia.

DEMETRIUS

Now for Demetrius, though he was a verie bigge man, he was nothing so high as his father, but yet so passing and wonderfull fayer, that no painter could possibly draw his picture and counterfeat to his likenes. For they saw a sweete countenance, mixed with a kinde of gravetie in his face, a feare with curtesie, and an incomparable Princely majestie accompanied with a lively spirit and youth, and his wit and manners were such, that they were both fearefull, and pleasaunt unto men that frequented him. For as he was most pleasaunt in company having leasure, and most geven to banketing, pleasaunt life, and more wantonly geven to follow any lust and pleasure, than any king that ever was: yet was he alwayes very carefull and diligent in dispatching matters of importance. And therefore he marvelously commended, and also endeavoured to follow Dionysius, (as much to say, as Bacchus) above all the other goddes, as he that had bene a wise and valliant Captaine in warre, and that in peace invented and used all the pleasure that might be. He marvelously loved and revered his father, and it seemeth that the dutiefulnes he shewed unto his mother, was more to discharge the due obedience and dutie of a sonne, than otherwise to enterteine his father, for feare of his power, or hope to be his heire. And for prooffe hereof we read, that one day as he came home from hunting, he went unto his father Antigonus, geving audience to certaine Ambassadors, and after he had done his duetie to him, and kissed him: he sate downe by him even as he came from hunting, having his dartes in his hande, which he caried out a hunting with him. Then Antigonus calling the Ambassadors alowde as they went their way, having received their aunswere: My Lords, sayd he, you shall carie home this reporte of my sonne and me, be witnesses I pray you, how we live one with an other. As meaning to shewe thereby, that the agreement betwext the father and the sonne together, is a great safetie to the affaires of a king, as also a manifest prooffe of his greatnes: so gealous is a king to have a companion, besides the hate and mistrust it should breede. So that the greatest Prince and most auncientest of all the successors of Alexander, boasted that he stode not in feare of his sonne, but did suffer him to sitte by him, having a dart in his hand.

Demetrius winneth the city of Megara, and restoreth it to her libertie

AFTER that, the citie of Megara was taken and won from Cassanders men, where Demetrius souldiers would have sacked all: howbeit the Athenians made humble intercession for them, that they might not be spoyled. Demetrius thereuppon, after he had driven out Cassanders garrison, he restored it againe to her former libertie. In doing that, he called to mind the Philosopher Stilpo, a famous man in Megara, though he lived a quiet and contemplative life. He sent for him, and asked him if any of his men had taken any thing of his. Stilpo aunswered him, they had not: For, quoth he, I sawe no man that tooke my learning from me. This notwithstanding, all the slaves of the citie were in manner caried away. Another time, Demetrius making much of him, as he was going his way saide unto him: Well, Stilpo, I leave you your citie free. It is true, O king, quoth he, for thou hast left us never a slave.

Salamina yelded up to Demetrius after his victorie of Ptolomy.

AFTER this victorie by sea, Menelaus made no more resistance, but yelded up Salamina and his shippes unto Demetrius, and put into his handes also twelve hundred horsemen, and twelve thowsand footemen well armed. This so famous and triumphant victorie was yet much more beautified, by Demetrius great bountie and goodnes which he shewed in giving his enemies slaine in battell honorable funeralls, setting the prisoners at liberty without ransom paying, and giving moreover twelve hundred complet armors unto the Athenians. After this, Demetrius sent Aristodemus Milesian unto his father Antigonus, to tell him by word of mouth the newes of this victorie. Aristodemus was the greatest flatterer in all Antigonus Court, who devised then, as it seemeth to me, to adde unto this exployte the greatest flatterie possible. For when he had taken land after he was come out of the Ile of Cyprus, he would in no wise have the shippe he came in to come neare the shoare, but commaunded them to ride at anker, and no man so hardy to leave the shippe: but he him self got into a litle boate, and went unto Antigonus, who all this while was in marvelous feare and perplexitie for the successe of this battell, as men may easily judge they are, which hope after so great incertainties. Now when worde was brought him that Aristodemus

was comming to him all alone, then was he worse troubled than afore, insomuch that he could scant keepe within dores him selfe, but sent his servaunts and friends one after another to meete Aristodemus, to aske him what newes, and to bring him worde presently againe how the world went. But not one of them could get any thing out of him, for he went on still fayer and softly with a sad countenance, and very demurely, speaking never a worde. Wherefore Antigonus hart being cold in his belly, he could stay no lenger, but would him selfe goe and meete with Aristodemus at the gate, who had a marvelous preasse of people following on him, besides those of the Court which ranne out to heare his aunswer. At length when he came neare unto Antigonus, holding out his right hand unto him, he cryed out alowd, God save thee, O king Antigonus: we have overcome king Ptolomy in battell by sea, and have wonne the Realme of Cyprus, with sixteene thowsand and eyght hundred prisoners. Then answered Antigonus, And God save thee to: truely Aristodemus thou hast kept us in a trawse a good while, but to punishe thee for the payne thou hast put us to, thou shalt the later receive the reward of thy good newes. Then was the first time that the people with a lowde voice called Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Now for Antigonus, his friendes and familliers did at that present instant put on the royall band or diadeame uppon his heade: But for Demetrius, his father sent it unto him, and by his letters called him king. They also that were in Aegypt with Ptolomay understanding that, did also call and salute him by the name of king: bicause it shoulde not seeme that for one overthrowe received, their hartes were deade.

Note the force of flattery by Aristodemus Milesian.

THUS this ambition by jelousie and emulation, went from man to man to all Alexanders successours. For Lysimachus then also beganne to weare the diadeame, and likewise Seleucus, as often as he spake with the Graecians: for before that tyme, he delt in matters with the barbarous people as a king. But Cassander, though others wrote them selves kinges, he onely subscribed after his wonted manner. Now this was not onely an increase of a newe name, or chaunging of apparell, but it was such an honor, as it lyft up their hartes, and made them stand upon them selves:

and besides it so framed their manner of life and conversation with men, that they grew more proud and stately, then ever they were before: like unto common players of tragedies, who apparelling them selves to playe their partes upon the stage, doe chaunge their gate, their countenaunce, their voyce, their manner of sitting at the table, and their talke also. So that afterwards they grew more cruell in commaunding their subjects, when they had once taken away the viser and dissimulation of their absolute power, which before made them farre more lowly and gentle in many matters unto them. And all this came through one vile flatterer, that brought such a wonderfull chaunge in the worlde.

*Wyles betwext Alexander (son of Cassander of Macedon)
and Demetrius.*

So IT chaunced one day, that as Demetrius went to Alexanders lodging where the feast was prepared: there came one to him to tell him of an ambush that was layed for him, and how they had determined to kill him when he should thinke to be merie at the banquet. But Demetrius was nothing abashed at the newes, and only went a litle softlier, not making such hast as he did before, and in the meane time sent to commaunde his Captaines to arme their men, and to have them in readines: and willed his gentlemen and all the rest of his officers that were about him, (which were a greater number by many than those of Alexanders side) every man of them to go in with him into the hall, and to tarie there till he rose from the table. By this meanes the men whome Alexander had appointed to assault him, they durst not, being affrayed of the great traine he had brought with him. Furthermore, Demetrius faining that he was not well at ease at that time to make merie, he went immediatly out of the hall, and the next morning determined to depart, making him beleve that he had certaine newes brought him of great importaunce: and prayed Alexander to pardon him, that he could no lenger keepe him companie, for that he was driven of necessitie to depart from him, and that an other time they would meete together, with better leasure and libertie. Alexander was verie glad to see that Demetrius went his way out of Macedon not offended, but of his owne good will: whereuppon he brought him into Thessaly, and

when they were come to the citie of Larissa, they began againe to feast one an other, to intrappe eche other: the which offered Demetrius occasion to have Alexander in his hand, as he would wish him selfe. For Alexander of purpose would not have his gard about him, fearing least thereby he should teach Demetrius also to stand upon his gard. Thus Alexander turned his practise for an other, upon him selfe: for he was determined not to suffer Demetrius to scape his handes, if he once againe came within daunger. So Alexander being bidden to supper to Demetrius, he came accordingly. Demetrius rising from the borde in the midst of supper, Alexander rose also, being affrayed of that straunge manner, and followed him foote by foote to the verie dore. Then Demetrius sayd but to his warders at the gate, Kill him that followeth me. With those wordes he went out of the dores, and Alexander that followed him was slaine in the place, and certaine of his gentlemen with him which came to rescue him: of the which, one of them as they killed him sayd, that Demetrius had prevented them but one day. All that night, (as it is no other likely) was full of uprore and tumult.

Demetrius insolencie.

NOWE many of them began to say, that he was the only king of all others, in whom the lively image of the hardines and valliantnes of Alexander the great was to be seene: and that all the rest, (but specially Demetrius) did but counterfeate his gravetie and Princely countenaunce, like players upon a stage that would counterfeate his countenaunce and gesture. And to say truly, there was much finenes and curiosity about Demetrius, to make him a playing stocke in common playes. For some say, that he did not only weare a great hat with his diadeame upon his head, and was appparelled in purple gownes imbrodered with gold: but also that he did use to weare certaine wollen shooes on his feete died in purple colour, not woven, but facioned together like a felt, and gilt upon it. And furthermore, he had long before caused a cloke to be made of a marvelous rich and sumptuous peece of worke. For upon it was drawn the figure of the world, with starres and circles of heaven, the which was not thoroughly finished by the chaunge of his fortune. So, there was never king of Macedon after him that durst weare it: albeit there were

many prowde and arrogant kings that succeded him. Now the Macedonians were not onely sorry, and offended to see suche things, as they were not wont to be acquainted withall: but they much more misliked this curious maner of life, and specially because he was ill to come to, and worse to be spoken with. For he gave no audience, or if he did, he was very rough, and would sharply take them up that had to do with him. As, he kept the Ambassadors of the Athenians two yeres, and would geve them no answer: and yet made as though he loved them better, then any other people of Graece. Another time also he was offended, because the Lacedaemonians had sent but one man only Ambassador unto him, taking it that they had done it in despite of him. And so did the Ambassador of the Lacedaemonians answer him very gallantly, after the Laconian maner. For when Demetrius asked him, How chaunceth it that the Lacedaemonians do send but one man unto me? No more but one, said he, O king, unto one. On a time he came abroad more plainly and popular-like, then he was wont to do: whereby he put the people in good hope that they might the easelier speake with him, and that he would more curteously heare their complaints. Thereupon many came, and put up their humble supplicacions and bills of petition unto him. He received them, and put them up in the lappe of his cloke. The poore suters were glad of that, and waited upon him at his heeles, hoping they should quickly be dispatched: but when he was upon the bridge of the river of Axius, he opened his cloke, and cast them all into the river. This went to the harts of the Macedonians, who then thought they were no more governed by a king, but oppressed by a tyran: and it grieved them so much more, because they did yet remember (either for that they had seene them selves, or otherwise heard their forefathers say) howe curteous king Philip was in all such matters, and howe that one day as he passed through the streete, a poore old woman pluckt him by the gowne, and eftsoones humbly besought him to heare her, but he aunswered her he was not then at leasure. Whereuppon the poore woman plainly cried out to him, Leave then to be king. This word so nettled him, and he tooke such a conceit of it, that he returned presently to his pallace, and setting all other matters a part, did nothing else many dayes but gave him selfe to heare all sutes, and began with this poore, olde woman.

The death of Demetrius.

Now for Demetrius, as he from the beginning patiently tooke his hard fortune, so did he daily more and more forget the miserie he was in. For first of al, he gave him selfe to riding and hunting, as farre as the place gave him libertie. Then by litle and litle he grew to be very grosse, and to give over such pastimes, and therewithall he fell into dronkennes and dycing: so that in that sort he passed away the most part of his time, as it should seeme, either to avoid the grevous thoughts of his hard fortune, which came into his mind when he was sober: or els under culler of dronkennes and eating, to shadow the thoughts he had: or els finding in him selfe that it was that manner of life he had long desired, and that through his vaine ambition and follie till that time he could never attayne unto, greatly turmoyling and troubling him selfe and others, supposing to find in warres, by sea and land, the felicitie and delight which he had found in ease and idlenes, when he nether thought of it, nor looked for it. For what better ende can evill and unadvised kings and Princes looke for, of all their troubles, daungers, and warres? who in deede deceive them selves greatly, not onely for that they followe their pleasure and delights as their chiefest felicitie, in steede of vertue and honest life: but also, bicause that in truth they can not be mery, and take their pleasure as they would. So, Demetrius after he had bene shut up in Cherronesus three yeares together, by ease, grossenes, and dronkennes, fell sicke of a disease whereof he dyed, when he was foure and fiftie yeare old.

CAIUS MARTIUS CORIOLANUS

Coriolanus disguised, goeth to Antium, a cittie of the Volsces.

IN the ende, seeing he could resolve no waye, to take a profitable or honorable course, but only was pricked forward still to be revenged of the Romaines: he thought to raise up some great warres against them, by their neerest neighbours. Whereupon, he thought it his best waye, first to stirre up the Volsces against them, knowing they were yet able enough in strength and riches to encounter them, notwithstanding their former losses they had

receyved not long before, and that their power was not so muche impaired, as their malice and desire was increased, to be revenged of the Romaines. Now in the cittie of Antium, there was one called Tullus Aufidius, who for his riches, as also for his nobilitie and valliantnes, was honoured emong the Volsces as a King. Martius knewe very well, that Tullus dyd more malice and envie him, then he dyd all the Romaines besides: bicause that many times in battells where they met, they were ever at the encounter one against another, like lustie coragious youtthes, striving in all emulation of honour, and had encountered many times together. In so muche, as besides the common quarrell betweene them, there was bred a marvelous private hate one against another. Yet notwithstanding, considering that Tullus Aufidius was a man of a great minde, and that he above all other of the Volsces, most desired revenge of the Romaines, for the injuries they had done unto them: he dyd an acte that confirmed the true wordes of an auncient Poet, who sayed:

It is a thing full harde, mans anger to withstand . . .

And so dyd he. For he disguised him selfe in suche arraye and attire, as he thought no man could ever have knowen him for the persone he was, seeing him in that apparell he had upon his backe. . . .

It was even twy light when he entred the cittie of Antium, and many people met him in the streetes, but no man knewe him. So he went directly to Tullus Aufidius house, and when he came thither, he got him up straight to the chimney harthe, and sat him downe, and spake not a worde to any man, his face all muffled over. They of thē house spyng him, wondered what he should be, and yet they durst not byd him rise. For ill favoredly muffled and disguised as he was, yet there appeared a certaine majestie in his countenance, and in his silence: whereupon they went to Tullus who was at supper, to tell him of the straunge disguising of this man. Tullus rose presently from the borde, and comming towards him, asked him what he was, and wherefore he came. Then Martius unmuffled him selfe, and after he had paused a while, making no aunswer, he sayed unto him: 'If thou knowest me not yet, Tullus, and seeing me, dost not, perhappes beleieve me to be the man I am in dede, I must of necessitie bewraye my self to be that I am. I am Caius Martius, who hath

done to thy self particularly, and to all the Volsces generally, great hurte and mischief, which I cannot denie for my surname of Coriolanus that I beare. For I never had other benefit nor recompence, of all the true and paynefull service I have done, and the extreme daungers I have bene in, but this only surname: a good memorie and witnes, of the malice and displeasure thou shouldest beare me. In deede the name only remaineth with me: for the rest, the envie and crueltie of the people of Rome have taken from me, by the sufferance of the dastardly nobilitie and magistrates, who have forsaken me, and let me be banished by the people. This extremitie hath now driven me to come as a poore suter, to take thy chimney harthe, not of any hope I have to save my life thereby. For if I had feared death, I would not have come hither to have put my life in hazard: but prickt forward with spite and desire I have to be revenged of them that thus have banished me, whom now I beginne to be avenged on, putting my persone betweene thy enemies. Wherefore, if thou hast any harte to be wrecked of the injuries thy enemies have done thee, spede thee now, and let my miserie serve thy turne, and so use it, as my service maye be a benefit to the Volsces: promising thee, that I will fight with better good will for all you, then ever I dyd when I was against you, knowing that they fight more valliantly, who knowe the force of their enemye, then such as have never proved it. And if it be so that thou dare not, and that thou art wearye to prove fortune any more: then am I also weary to live any lenger. And it were no wisdom in thee, to save the life of him, who hath bene heretofore thy mortall enemye, and whose service now can nothing helpe nor pleasure thee.' Tullus hearing what he sayed, was a marvelous glad man, and taking him by the hande, he sayed unto him: Stande up, O Martius, and bee of good chere, for in profering thy selfe unto us, thou dost us great honour: and by this meanes thou mayest hope also of greater things, at all the Volsces handes. So he feasted him for that time, and entertained him in the honorablest manner he could, talking with him in no other matters at that present: but within fewe dayes after, they fell to consultation together, in what sorte they should beginne their warres.

FURIUS CAMILLUS

The Gaules clime up to the Capitoll in the night.

BUT whilst Camillus was thus a preparing, certen of the Barbarous people in Rome, walking out by chaunce on that side of the Capitoll where Pontius Cominius had gotten up the night before: spied in divers places the printes of his feete and hands as he had griped and gotten holde, still digging to get up, and sawe the weedes and erbes also growing upon the rocks, and the earth in like manner, flat troden down. Whereupon they went presently unto the King, to let him understande the same: who forthwith came to vewe the place. And having considered it well, he dyd nothing at that time: but when darke night was come, he called a companie of the lightest Gaules together, and that used most to digge in mountaines, and sayed unto them: Our enemies them selves doe shew us the waye how to take them, which we could not have founde out but by them selves. For they having gone up before us, doe geve us easely to understande, it is no impossible thing for us to clime up also. Wherefore, we were utterly shamed, having already begonne well, if we should fayle also to end well: and to leave this place as unvincible. For if it were easie for one man alone, by digging to clime up to the height thereof: much lesse is it harde for many to get up one after another, so that one doe helpe another. Therefore Syrs, I assure you, those that doe take paynes to get up, shalbe honorably rewarded, according to their just deserte. When the King had spoken these wordes unto the Gaules, they fell to it lustely every man to get up: and about midnight, they beganne many of them to digge, and make stepps up to the rocke one after another, as softly as could possibly, with catching holde the best they could, by the hanging of the rocke, which they found very steepe, but nevertheles easier to clime, then they tooke it at the beginning. So that the formest of them being come to the toppe of the rocke, were now ready to take the walle, and to set upon the watche that slept: for there was neither man nor dogge that heard them.

The holy gese saved the Capitoll.

IT chaunced then there were holy gese kept in the temple of Iuno, which at other times were wont to be fed till their croppes were full: but vittells being very straite, and scante at that time even to finde the men, the poore gese were so hard handled, and so litle regarded, that they were in manner starved for lacke of meate. This fowle in deede naturally is very quicke of hearing, and so is she also very fearefull by nature: and being in manner famished with their harde allowance, they were so much the more waking, and easier to be afrayed. Upon this occasion therefore, they heard the comming of the Gaules, and also beganne to ronne up and downe and crie for feare: with which noyse they did wake those that were within the castell. The Gaules being bewrayed by these foolishe gese, left their stealing upon them, and came in with all the open noyse and terrour they could. The Romaines hearing this larum, every man tooke such weapon as came first to his hand, and they ranne sodainely to rescue that place from whence they understoode the noyse: among those, the foremost man of all was Marcus Manlius, a man that had bene Consul, who had a lusty bodye, and as stowte a harte. His happe being to mete with two of the Gaules together, as one of them was lifting up his axe to knocke him on the head, he prevented him, and strake of his hand with his sword, and clapt his target on the others face so fiercely, that he threwe him backward down the rocke: and comming afterwards unto the walle with others that ranne thither with him, he repulsed the rest of the Gaules that were gotten up, who were not many in number, neither did any great acte.

Tutola, or Philotts craft and subtiltie.

THE occasion of this warre is reported two manner of wayes: whereof I will declare the first, which I doe conceyve to be but a tale. They saye the Latines sent unto the Romaines, to demaunde some of their free maydes in mariage: which they dyd either to make a quarell of warre, or els as desirous in deede, to joyne both the peoples againe by newe mariages. The Romaines were amased very much at this, and sore troubled, as not knowing howe to answer them, they were so affrayed of warres. For they werẽ scante newe setled at home, and dreaded much lest this de-

maunde of their daughters, was but a summons made to geve them hostages, which they finely cloked under the name of alliance in mariage. Some saye that there was at that time a bonde mayde called Tutola, or as some saye, Philotis, that went unto the Senate, and counselled them they should sende her awaye with some other fayer maydes slaves, dressed up like gentlewomen, and then let her alone. The Senate liked very well of this devise, and chose such a number of bonde maydes as she desired to have, and trimming them up in fine apparell, begawded with chaines of golde and juells, they sent them forth to the Latines, who were encamped not farre from the cittie. When night was come, the other maydes hyd their enemies swords. But this Tutola, or Philotis (call her as you will) dyd clime up to the toppe of a wilde figge tree, from which she shewed a burning torche unto the Romaines, having made shifte to hange somewhat behinde her, to keepe the light from sight of the enemies. For this signall the Senate of Rome had secretly appointed her to set up, which was the cause that the issuing out of the souldiers being commaunded to goe out in the night, was full of trouble and tumulte. For being pressed by their captaines, they called one another, and there was great a doe to put them into order of battell. Thus they went to take their enemies sleeping, who nothing mistrusting the same, were slaine the most parte of them within their campe. This was done on the fifte day of the moneth called *Quintilis*, and now is named *Iulye*: at which time they doe yet celebrate a certaine feast in remembraunce of that acte. For first of all, going out of the citie, they call alowde many of their fellowes names which are most common: as Caius, Marcus, and Lucius, showing thereby howe one of them called another after that sorte, as they went in great haste out of the cittie. Afterwardes all the mayde servauntes of the cittie being trimmely apparelled, goe playing up and downe the towne, pleasauntly jeasting with those they mete: and in the ende they make as though they fought together, in token that they dyd helpe the Romaines at that time to destroye the Latines. Then they are feasted, sitting under bowers made with wilde figge tree boughes: and this feaste daye is called, *Nonae Capratinae*, by reason of the wilde figge tree (as some thincke) from the toppe whereof, the bonde mayde shewed to the Romaines the burning torche. For the Romaines call the wilde figge tree, *Caprificus*.

The crafte of the Thusculanians.

NEWES being brought unto the Senate, that the Thusculanians were revolted, they sent Camillus thither againe, willing him of five other companions to take out one he liked best, every of the which desired to be chosen, and made their sute unto him for the same. But he refusing all other, dyd chose againe Lucius Furius beyonde all expectation of men, seeing not long before he needes would against his will hazarde battell, in which he was overthrowen. Howbeit Camillus, having a desire (as I thincke) to hyde his faulte and shame he had received: dyd of curtesie preferre him before all other. Nowe the Thusculanians hearing of Camillus coming against them, subtilly sought to culler the faulte they had already committed. Wherefore they put out a great number of people into the fields, some to plowe, other to keepe the beastes, as if they had bene in best peace: and dyd set the gates of the cittie wide open, sent their children openly to schoole, their artificers wrought their occupation in their shoppes, the men of haviour and honest cittizens walked in the market place in their long gownes, and the officers and governours of the cittie went up and downe to every house, commaunding them to prepare lodgings for the Romaines, as if they had stode in no feare at all, and as though they had committed no faulte. Howbeit all these fine fetches could not make Camillus beleewe, but that they had an intent to rebell against the Romaines: yet they made Camillus pittie them, seeing they repented them of that they had determined to doe. So he commaunded them to goe to Rome to the Senate, to crave pardone of their faulte: and he him selfe dyd helpe them, not only to purge their cittie of any intent of rebellion, but also to get them the priviledge and freedome of Rome.

The majestie of the olde Senatours set in the market place of Rome.

MOREOVER, Brennus being entred Rome, dyd appointe parte of his souldiers to besiege those which were gotten into mount Capitoll. And he with the residue of his armie, marched on towards the market place: where when he saw the auncient Senatours set so gravely in their chayers, and spake never a word, nor offered onçe to rise, though they saw their enemies come armed towards them, neither chaunged countenance, nor culler at all,

but leaned softly on their staves they had in their hands, seeming to be nothing affrayed nor abashed, but looked one upon another, he marvelously wondred at it. This their so straunge manner at the first dyd so dampe the Gaules, that for a space they stoode still, and were in doubte to come neere to touche them, fearing least they had bene some goddes: untill suche time, as one of them went boldely unto Marcus Papyrius, and layed his hand fayer and softly upon his long bearde. But Papyrius gave him such a rappe on his pate with his staffe, that he made the bloud ronne about his eares. This barbarous beaste was in such a rage with the blowe, that he drue out his sworde, and slewe him. The other souldiers also killed all the rest afterwarde: and so the Gaules continued many dayes spoyling and sacking all thinges they founde in the houses, and in the ende dyd set them all a fyer, and destroyed them every one, for despite of those that kept the forte of the Capitoll, that would not yeld upon their summons, but valliantly repulsed them when they scaled the walles. For this cause they rased the whole cittie, and put all to the sworde that came in their handes, young and olde, man, woman, and childe.

The cittie of Rome rased by the Gaules.

NOWE this siege continuing long, and the Romaines holding them out very stowtely, vittells beganne to growe scante in the campe of the Gaules, in so much as they were driven of force to seeke it abroad without the cittie. Hereupon they devided themselves, whereof some remained still with the King at the siege of the Capitoll: and the rest went a forraging, and spoyling all the champion countrie and villages thereabouts, scattered as it were by bandes and companies, some here, some there, fearing nothing, nor passing upon watch or warde, they lived in suche securitie of their victorie. Howbeit the greatest company amongst them, went by fortune towardes the cittie of Ardea, where Camillus dwelt, living like a private man, medling with no matters of state from the time of his exile, untill that present time. But then he beganne not to bethinke him self as a man that was in safety, and might have escaped the handes of his enemies, but rather sought to devise and finde out all the meanes he could to

subdewe them if occasion were so offered. Whereupon, considering that the inhabitants of Ardea were enough in number to set upon them, although faynte harted, and cowardly, by reason of the slouth and negligence of their governours and captaines, who had no manner of experience in the warres: he beganne to cast out these words among the young men. That they should not thinke the Romaines misfortune fell upon them, through the valliantnes of the Gaules, nor that their calamitie (who had refused good counsaill) had happened unto them by any worke or acte of the Gaules, having done nothing for their parte to make them carie away the victorie: but that they should thinke, it was no other thing, but fortune alone, that would needes shewe her power. Therefore, that it were nowe a notable and honorable enterprise (although somewhat daungerous) to drive these straungers and barbarous people out of their countrie: considering that the only ende of their victorie was, but to destroye and consume as fire, all that fell into their hands. Wherefore if they would but only take a good lusty harte and corage unto them, he would with opportunitie, and place, assure them the victorie, without any daunger. The young men were pleased with these words of life and comforte. Whereupon Camillus went to breake the matter also unto the magistrates and counsellours: and having drawen them by persuation into this enterprise, he armed all that were of age to carie armor, and would not suffer a man to goe out of the cittie, for feare least the enemies (which were not farre of) should have intelligence of the same. Now after the Gaules had ronne over all the champion countrie, and were loden with all sorts of spoyles, they did encampe them selves negligently in open fields, and never charged watch nor warde: but having their full cariage of wine layed them down to slepe, and made no noyse at all in their campe. Camillus being advertised thereof by his severall skowtes, caused the Ardeans with as little noyse as might be, forthwith to goe out into the fields: and having marched somewhat roundly the distance betwene the cittie, and the campe of the Gaules, they came thither much about midnight. Then he made his soldiers make great showtes and cries, and the trumpets to be sounded on every side, to put a feare in their enemies, who yet with all the lowde noyse they made, could hardly be made to wake, they were so deadly dronke. Yet there were some

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notwithstanding, that for feare to be taken tardy, dyd bustle up at this sodaine noyse: and coming to them selves, fell to their weapons to resist Camillus, which were slayne by and by. The rest, and the greatest number of them, laye here and there scattered in the middest of the field, without any weapon, dead a sleepe, starcke droncke with wine, and were put to the sworde, and never strake stroke. Those that fled out of the campe that night (which were but fewe in number) were overthrowen also the next daye, by the horse men which followed and killed them, as they tooke them stragglng here and there in the fieldes. The brute of this victorie was blowen abroade incontinently through all the townes and villages thereabouts, which caused many young men to come and joyne them selves to Camillus: but specially the Romaines desired the same, that had saved them selves in the cittie of Veies, after the battell lost at Allia, who made their mones amongst them selves there, saying: O goddes, what a captaine hath fortune taken from the cittie of Rome? What honour hath the cittie of Ardea by the valliantnes and worthy deedes of Camillus: and in the meane season, his naturall cittie that brought him forth, is now lost, and utterly destroyed? We, for lacke of a captaine to leade us, are shut up here within others walles, and doe nothing but suffer Italie in the meane space to goe to ruine, and utter destruction before our eyes. Why then doe we not send to the Ardeans for our captaine? or why doe we not arme our selves, to goe unto him? For he is nowe no more a banished man, nor we poore cittizens: since our cittie is possessed with the forein power, of our hatefull enemies. So they all agreed to this counsaill, and sent unto Camillus to beseche him to be their captaine, and leade them. But he made aunswer, he would in no case consent unto it, unles they that were besieged in the Capitoll had lawfully first confirmed it by their voyces. For those (sayed he) so long as they remaine within the cittie, doe represent the state and bodie thereof. Therefore if they commaunded him to take this charge upon him, he would most willingly obey them: if otherwise they misliked of it, that then he would not medle against their good willes and commaundement. They having receaved this aunswer, there was not a Romaine amongst them, but greatly honored and extolled the wisdom and justice of Camillus.

Pontius Cominius got up into the Capitoll at Rome.

BUT nowe they knewe not how to make them privie to it, that were besieged in the Capitoll: for they sawe no possibilitie to convey a messenger to them: considering the enemies were lordes of the cittie, and layed seige to it. Howbeit there was one Pontius Cominius amongst the young men (a man of a meane house, but yet desirous of honour and glory) that offered him self very willingly to venter to get in if he could. So he tooke no letters to cary to them which were besieged, for feare least they might be intercepted, and so they should discover Camillus intention: but putting on an ill favoured gowne upon him, he conveyed certen peces of corcke under it, and traveling at none dayes kept on his waye without feare, untill he came to Rome, bringing darke night with him. And bicause he could not passe over the bridge, for that the Barbarous people kept watche upon it: he wrapped such clothes as he had, about his necke (which were not many, nor heavy) and tooke the river, and swimming with these corcks he had brought, at the length he got over to the other side where the cittie stode. Then taking up those lanes allwayes where he thought the enemies were not, seeing fire, and hearing noyse in other places, he went to the gate Carmentale, where he found more silence then in other places: on the which side also, the hill of the Capitoll was more stepe and upright, by reason of the great rocks that were harde to clime up upon. But he digged and crept up so long amongst them, that he got up with great payn unto the wall of the fortresse, on the which side also the enemy kept no watch: and saluting the watche of the Capitoll, he told them what he was. So they plucked him up unto them, and brought him to the magistrates that ruled then. Who caused the Senate to assemble presently, unto whom he told the newes of Camillus victorie, which they had not heard of before: and therewith also he dyd declare unto them, the determination of the Romaine souldiers that were abroad, which was, to make Camillus their captaine and general, and did persuade them also to graunt him the charge, for that he was the only man abroad whom the cittizens gave their consents to obey. When they heard this, all that were within the Capitoll, consulted thereupon amongst them selves, and so did chuse Camillus Dictator, and returned the messenger Pontius Cominius backe againe, the self

same way he came unto them. His fortune in returning backe was like unto his coming thither: for the enemies never sawe him. And so he brought reporte unto them that were abroad, of the Senates decree and consent, whereof they all were marvelous glad. Thus came Camillus to take this charge of generall upon him, and found there were twenty thousand good fighting men abroade, and well armed. Then got he further ayde also of their allies and confederates, and prepared daylie to goe and set upon the enemies. So was Camillus chosen nowe Dictator the seconde time, and went unto the cittie of Veies, where he spake with the Romaine souldiers that were there, and leaved a great number of the allies besides, to goe fight with the enemies as sone as he could.

Rome taken of the Gaules.

FURTHERMORE the priests of other goddes, and the most honorablest olde men of the cittie of Rome (that had bene Consuls before time, or had past the honour of triumphe) had not the harte to forsake Rome: but putting on all their most holy robes and vestments dyd vowe, and as it were willingly sacrificed themselves unto the fortune that should befall them, for the safety of their countrie. And using certain words and prayers which their high bishoppe Fabius had taught them, they went even thus apparelled into the great market place, and dyd sit them downe there, in chayes of ivory, expecting the good will and pleasure of the godds what should become of them. But with in three dayes after, Brennus came to Rome with his army: who finding the gates of the cittie all open, and the walles without watche, he dowted some devise in it, and feared some privie ambush had bene layed, as one hardly beleeving to have found the Romaines of so base a mind, as to forsake their cittie. After being enformed of the troth, he entred into Rome by the gate Collina, and tooke the same, litle more then three hundred and three score yeres after it was first builded: if it be true at the least there hath remained any certen chronicles of those times unto this present daye, considering the trouble and confusion of that time hath made many things more uncerteine then that, dowtfull unto us. But so it was, that the rumor ranne to Grece incontinently howe Rome was taken, but yet withall somewhat doubtfully and uncerteinly.

Camillus besiegeth the Falerians.

BUT the warres of the Falisces fell out happely at that time, whereby the noble men dyd choose such officers as they would. So they chose Camillus, *Tribunus militaris* of the souldiers, and five other to assiste him, the service in that case requiring a generall, that caried both authoritie and reputation among them, as an olde experienced souldier in the warres. When the people had confirmed the election, Camillus immediatly entred the territories of the Falisces with the Romaines armie, where he layed siege unto the cittie of the Falerians, being very well fortified, vitted and stored, with all other munition of warre. Knowing therefore that it was no small attempt to winne this cittie, and that it would not be done in a short time: he pollitically sought (whatsoever came of it) to keepe his countrimen occupied about some thing, and to stave them for going home, least by repaying to Rome, they should have many occasions to rebell, and raise some civill dissention. For the Romaines dyd wisely use this remedie: to disperse abroad like good phisicians, the humours which troubled the quiet state of their common weale at home. But the Falerians trusting in the situation of their cittie, which was very strong in all partes, made so litle accompt of the siege: that those which kept not watche upon the walles, walked up and downe in their gownes in the cittie, without any weapon about them, and their children went to schoole, the schoolemaster also would commonly leade them abroad out of the cittie a walking, to playe and passe the time by the towne walles. For the whole cittie had one common schoolemaster, as the Grecians also have, which doe bring up their children from litle ones in company together, because one maye be familiarly acquainted with an other. This schoolemaster spying his time to doe the Falerians a shrewd turne, dyd accustomedly take all his scholers out of the cittie with him, to playe, not farre from the walles at the beginning, and afterwards brought them into the cittie againe, after they had played their fill. Now after he had led them abroad thus once or twise, he trayned them out every daye a litle further, to make them to be bolde, perswading them there was no daunger. But at the length, one daye having gotten all the cittizens children with him, he led them within the watche of the Romaines campe, and there delivered all his scholers into their handes, and prayed them they would bring him unto their generall. So they

did. And when he came before Camillus, he beganne to tell him that he was schoolemaster unto all these children, nevertheles that he dyd more esteeme to have his grace and favour, then regarde his office he had by this name and title. Camillus hearing what he sayed, and beholding his threacherous parte, he sayed to those that were about him: Warre of it selfe surely is an evill thing, for in warres many injuries and mischieves are done: nevertheles among good men there is a law and discipline, which doth forbid them to seeke victorie by wicked and traiterous meanes, and that a noble and worthie generall should make warre, and procure victorie, by trusting to his own valliantnes, and not by anothers vilenes and villanie. Therefore he commaunded his sergeants to teare the clothes of the backe of this vile schoolemaster, and to binde his hands behinde him: and that they should geve the children roddes and whippes in their handes, to whippe the traitour backe againe into the cittie, that had thus betrayed them, and grieved their parents. Now when the Falerians heard newes that the schoolemaster had thus betrayed them, all the cittie fell a weeping (as every man maye thinke for so great a losse) and men and women ranne together one in anothers necke, to the town walles, and gates of the cittie, like people out of their wittes, they were so troubled. When they came thither, they saw their children bringing their schoolemaster backe againe, starcke naked and bownde, whipping of him, and calling Camillus their father, their god, and their saviour; so that not only the fathers and mothers of the children, but all other the cittizens also in generall, dyd conceyve in them selves a wonderfull admiration and great love, of the wisdom, goodnes, and justice of Camillus. So that even presently they called a counsaill, and there it was concluded they should send ambassadours forthwith unto him, to put their lives and goodes to his mercy and favour. Camillus sent their ambassadours unto Rome, where audience being geven unto them by the Senate, the ambassadours sayed: Bicause the Romaines preferred justice above victorie, they taught them to be better contented to submit them selves unto them, then to be their own men at libertie: confessing their vertue dyd more overcome them, then any force or power would doe. The Senate dispatched letters unto Camillus, giving him commission to doe and determine as he thought

good. So he having taken a certen summe of money of the Falerians, dyd furthermore make peace and league with all the rest of the Falisces: and thereupon returned backe againe to Rome.

P A U L U S A E M I L I U S

The battell betwext Perseus and Aemylius.

ALL the hilles and mountaines thereabouts dyd ringe againe like an Eccho, with the crie and noyse of so many fighting men, one incoraging another. In this order they marched so fiercely, with so great harte burning, and such swiftnes: that the first which were slaine at the incounter, fell dead two furlonges from the campe of the Romaines. The charge being geven, and the battell begonne, Aemylius galloping to the voward of his battell, perceyved that the captaines of the Macedonians which were in the first ranckes, had already thrust their pikes into the Romaines targets, so as they could not come neere them with their swordes: and that the other Macedonians carying their targets behinde them, had now plucked them before them, and dyd base their pikes all at one time, and made a violent thrust into the targets of the Romaines. Which when he had considered, and of what strength and force his walle and rancke of targets was, one joyning so neere another, and what a terroure it was to see a fronte of a battell with so many armed pikes and steele heades: he was more afeard and amazed withall, then with any sight he ever sawe before. Nevertheles he could wisely dissemble it at that time. And so passing by the companies of his horsemen, without either curaces or helmet upon his head, he shewed a noble cherefull countenance unto them that fought. But on the contrarie side, Perseus the king of Macedon, as Polybius writeth, so sone as the battell was begonne, withdrewe him self, and got into the cittie of Pydne, under pretence to goe to doe sacrifice unto Hercules: who doth not accept the fainte sacrifice of cowards, neither doth receyve their prayers, bicause they be unreasonable. For it is no reason, that he that shooteth not, should hyt the white: nor that he should wisme the victorie, that hideth not the battell: neither that he should have any good, that doeth nothing toward it: nor

that a naughty man should be fortunate, and prosper. The goddess dyd favour Aemylus prayers, because he prayed for victorie with his sworde in his hande, and fighting dyd call to them for ayde. Howbeit there is one Posidonius a writer, who sayeth he was in that time, and moreover, that he was at the battell: and he hath written an historie containing many bookes of the actes of king Perseus, where he sayeth that it was not for fainte harte, nor under culler to sacrifice unto Hercules, that Perseus went from the battell: but because he had a stripe of a horse on the thighe the daye before. Who though he could not very well helpe him selfe, and that all his friends sought to persuade him not to goe to the battell: yet he caused one of his horse to be brought to him notwithstanding (which he commonly used to ryde up and downe on) and taking his backe, rode into the battell unarmed, where an infinite number of dartes were throwen at him from both sides. And among those, he had a blowe with a darte that hurte him somewhat, but it was overthwart, and not with the pointe, and dyd hit him on the left side glawnsing wise, with suche a force, that it rent his coate, and rased his skinne underneath, so as it left a marke behinde a long time after. And this is all that Posidonius writeth to defend and excuse Perseus.

Good lucke pronounced by Tertia, a litle girle.

So being Consul now, and appointed to make warre upon king Perseus, all the people dyd honorably companie him home unto his house: where a litle girle (a daughter of his) called Tertia, being yet an infant, came weeping unto her father. He making much of her: asked her why she wept. The poore girle answered, colling him about the necke, and kissing him: Alas, father, wote you what? our Perseus is dead. She ment it by a litle whelpe so called, which was her playe fellowe. In good hower, my girle, sayed he, I like the signe well. Thus doth Cicero the orator reporte it in his booke of divinations.

Wonders.

FOUR dayes after Perseus had lost the battell, and that the citie of Pella was taken, as the people of Rome were at the listes or shoue place, seing horses ronne for games: sodainly there rose a rumour at the entring into the listes where the games were, how

Aemylius had wonne a great battell of king Perseus, and had conquered all Macedon. This newes was rife straight in every mans mouthe, and there followed upon it a marvelous joye and great cheere in every corner, with showtes and clapping of handes, that continued all the daye through the cittie of Rome. Afterwards they made diligent enquierie, how this rumour first came up, but no certaine authour could be knowen, and every man sayed they heard it spoken: so as in the ende it came to nothing, and passed awaye in that sorte for a time. But shortely after, there came letters, and certen newes that made them wonder more then before, from whence the messenger came that reported the first newes of it: which could be devised by no naturall meanes, and yet proved true afterwards. We doe reade also of a battell that was fought in Italie, nere unto the river of Sagra, wherof newes was brought the very same daye unto Peloponnesus. And of another also in like manner that was fought in Asia against the Medes, before the cittie of Mycala: the newes whereof came the same daye unto the campe of the Graecians, lying before the cittie of Platoes. And in that great jorney where the Romaines overthrewe the Tarquines, and the armie of the Latines: immediatly after the battell was wonne, they sawe two goodly young men come newly from the campe, who brought newes of the victorie to Rome, and they judged they were Castor and Pollux. The first man that spake to them in the market place before the fountaine, where they watered their horse being all of a white fome, tolde them: that he wondred howe they could so quickly bring these newes. And they laughing came to him, and tooke him softly by the beard with both their handes, and even in the market place his heare being blacke before, was presently turned yellowe. This miracle made them beleewe the reporte the man made, who ever after was called Aenobarbus, as you would saye, bearded as yellowe as golde.

A pretty tale of a Romaine that forsooke his wife.

HIS first wife was Papyria, the daughter of a noble Consul Papyrius Masso, and after they had lived a long time together, he was divorced from her, notwithstanding he had goodly children by her. For by her he had that famous Scipio the second, and Fabius Maximus. The just cause of the divorce betweene them, appear-

eth not to us in writing: but me thinckes the tale that is tolde concerning the separation of a certaine mariage is true. That a certain Romaine having forsaken his wife, her friendes fell out with him, and asked him: What fault dost thou finde in her? is she not honest of her bodie? is she not fayer? doth she not bring thee goodly children? But he putting forth his foote, shewed them his shooe, and aunswered them. Is not this a goodly shooe? is it not finely made? and is it not newe? yet I dare saye there is never a one of you can tell where it wringeth me. For to saye truely, great and open faultes are commonly occasions to make husbands put awaye their wives: but yet oftentimes household wordes ronne so betweene them (proceeding of crooked conditions, or of diversitie of natures, which straungers are not privie unto) that in processe of time they doe beget suche a straunge alteration of love and mindes in them, as one house can no lenger holde them. So Aemylius, having put awaye Papyria his first wife, he married another that brought him two sonnes, which he brought up with him selfe in his house, and gave his two first sonnes (to wit, Scipio the second, and Fabius Maximus) in adoption, to two of the noblest and richest families of the cittie of Rome. The elder of the twaine, unto Fabius Maximus, he that was five times Consul: and the younger unto the house of the Cornelians, whom the sonne of the great Scipio the African dyd adopt, being his cosin germaine, and named him Scipio.

Aemylius chosen Consul the second time, taketh charge of the warres of Macedon.

So all that bare great authoritie, dyd altogether with one consent counsaill him to obey the people, which called him to the Consulshippe. At the beginning, in deede he delayed the people muche that came to importune him, and utterly denied them: saying, he was no meete man neither to desire, nor yet to take upon him any charge. Howbeit in the ende, seeing the people dyd urge it upon him, by knocking continually at his gates, and calling him alowde in the streetes, willing him to come into the market place, and perceyving they were angrie with him, bicause he refused it: he was content to be persuaded.* And when he stode among them that sued for the Consulshippe, the people thought straight that he stode not there so muche for desire of

the office, as for that he put them in hope of assured victorie, and happie successe of this begonne warre: so great was their love towards him, and the good hope they had of him, that they chose him Consul againe the second time. Wherefore so sone as he was chosen, they would not proceede to drawing of lottes according to their custome, which of the two Consuls should happen to goe into Macedon: but presently with a full and whole consent of them all, they gave him the whole charge of the warres of Macedon.

MARCELLUS

Marcellus besiegeth Syracuse.

MARCELLUS him selfe, with three score galleyes of five owers at every bancke, well armed, and full of all sortes of artillery and fire works, did assault by sea, and rowed hard to the walle, having made a great engine and devise of battery, uppon eight galleyes chained together, to batter the walle: trusting in the great multitude of his engines of battery, and to all such other necessarie provision as he had for warres, as also in his owne reputacion. But Archimedes made light accompt of all his devises, as in deede they were nothinge comparable to the engines him selfe had invented: and yet were not his owne such, as him selfe did reckon of, to shew singularity of worke and devise. For those he had made, were but his recreations of Geometry, and thinges done to passe the time with, at the request of king Hieron: who had prayed him to call to minde a litle, his geometricall speculation, and to apply it to thinges corporall and sencible, and to make the reason of it demonstrative, and plaine, to the understanding of the common people by experiments, and to the benefit and commodity of use. For this inventive arte to frame instruments and engines, (which are called mechanicall, or organically, so highly commended and esteemed of all sortes of people) were first set forth by Architas, and by Eudoxus: partely to beawtifie a litle the science of Geometry by this finenes, and partly to prove and confirme by materiall examples and sencible instruments, certeine Geometrical conclusions, whereof a man can not finde out the conceivable demonstrations, by enforced reasons and

proofes. As that conclusion which instructeth one to searche out two lynes meane proportionall, which can not be proved by reason demonstrative, and yet notwithstandinge is a principall and an accepted ground, for many thinges which are contained in the arte of portraiture.

Archimedes havinge tolde king Hieron, his kinseman and very frende, that it was possible to remove as great a weight as he would, with as litle strength as he listed to put to it: and boasting him selfe thus (as they reporte of him) and trusting to the force of his reasons, wherewith he proved this conclusion, that if there were an other globe of earth, he was able to remove this of ours, and passe it over to the other: kinge Hieron wondering to heare him, required him to put this devise in execution, and to make him see by experience, some great or heavy weight removed, by litle force. So Archimedes caught hold with a hooke of one of the greatest carects, or hulkes of the king (that to draw it to the shore out of the water, required a marvelous number of people to go about it, and was hardly to be done so) and put a great number of men more into her, than her ordinary burden: and he himselfe sittinge alone at his ease farre of, without any straining at all, drawing the ende of an engine with many wheelles and pullyes, fayer and softly with his hande, made it come as gently and smoothly to him, as it had floted in the sea. The king wondering to see the sight, and knowing by prooffe the greatnes of his arte: he prayed him to make him some engines, both to assault and defend, in all maner of sieges and assaultes. So Archimedes made him many engines, but kinge Hieron never occupied any of them, bicause he reigned the most parte of his time in peace, without any warres. But this provision and munition of engines, served the Syracusans turne marvelously at that time: and not only the provision of the engines ready made, but also the enginer and worke maister him selfe, that had invented them.

*The wonderful force of Archimedes engines at Marcellus
siege of Syracuse.*

Now, the Syracusans seeing them selves assaulted by the Romaines, both by sea and by land, were marvelously perplexed, and could not tel what to say, they were so afayed: imagining it

was impossible for them to withstande so great an army. But when Archimedes fell to handle his engines, and to set them at liberty, there flue in the ayer infinite kindes of shot, and marvelous great stones, with an incredible noyse and force on the sodaine, apon the footemen that came to assault the city by land, bearing downe, and tearing in peeces all those, which came against them, or in what place soever they lighted, no earthly body beinge able to resist the violence of so heavy a weight: so that all their ranckes were marvelously disordered. And as for the gallies that gave assault by sea, some were soncke with long peeces of timber like unto the yards of shippes, whereto they fasten their sailes, which were sodainly blowen over the walles with force of their engines into their gallies, and so soncke them by their overgreat weight. Other being hoysed up by the prooes with handes of Iron, and hookes made like cranes billes, plunged their poupes into the sea. Other being taken up with certaine engines fastened within, one contrary to an other, made them turne in the ayer like a whirlegigge, and so cast them apon the rockes by the towne walles, and splitted them all to fitters, to the great spoyle and murder of the persons that were within them. And sometimes the shippes and gallies were lift cleane out of the water, that it was a fearfull thing to see them hang and turne in the ayer as they did: untill that casting their men within them over the hatches, some here, some there, by this terrible turning, they came in the end to be empty, and to breake against the walls, or else to fall into the sea againe, when their engines left their hold.

Archimedes profowndely learned.

ARCHIMEDES had such a great minde, and was so profoundly learned, having hidden in him the onely treasure and secrets of Geometricall inventions: as he would never set forth any booke how to make all these warlicke engynes, which wanne him at that time the fame and glory, not of mans knowledge, but rather of divine wisdom. But he esteminge all kinde of handy craft and invention to make engines, and generally all maner of sciences bringing common commodity by the use of them, to be but vyle, beggerly, and mercenary drosse: employed his witte and study onely to write thinges, the beawty and subtiltie whereof, were

not mingled any thinge at all with necessitie. For all that he hath written, are geometricall propositions, which are without comparison of any other writings whatsoever: bicause the subject whereof they treat, doeth appeare by demonstracion, the matter giving them the grace and the greatnes, and the demonstracion proving it so exquisitely, with wonderfull reason and facilitie, as it is not repugnable. For in all Geometry are not to be founde more profounde and difficulte matters wrytten, in more plaine and simple tearmes, and by more easie principles, then those which he hath invented.

That me thinks is like enough to be true, which they write of him: that he was so ravished and dronke with the swete intysements of this Sirene, which as it were lay continually with him, as he forgate his meate and drinke, and was careles otherwise of him selfe, that oftentimes his servants got him against his will to the bathes, to washe and annoynt him: and yet being there, he would ever be drawing out of the Geometricall figures, even in the very imbers of the chimney. And while they were annointing of him with oyles and swete savors, with his finger he did draw lines upon his naked body: so farre was he taken from himself, and brought into an extasy or traunse, with the delite he had in the study of Geometry, and truely ravished with the love of the Muses. But amongst many notable things he devised, it appeareth, that he most esteemed the demonstracion of the proportion betwene the Cylinder (to wit, the round colomne) and the Sphaere or globe contained in the same: for he prayed his kinsmen and frends, that after his death they would put a Cylinder upon his tombe, containing a massie Sphaere, with an inscription of the proportion, whereof the continent exceedeth the thing contained. So Archimedes being as you have heard, did asmuch as lay in him, both save him selfe and Syracusa from taking. But now againe to Marcellus.

Marcellus winneth Syracusa.

SYRACUSA beinge taken, nothinge greved Marcellus more, than the losse of Archimedes. Who beinge in his studie when the citie was taken, busily seekinge out by him selfe the demonstracion of some Geometricall proposition which he hadde drawn

in figure, and so earnestly occupied therein, as he neither sawe nor hearde any noyse of enemies that ranne uppe and downe the citie, and much lesse knewe it was taken: He wondered when he sawe a souldier by him, that bad him go with him to Marcellus. Notwithstandinge, he spake to the souldier, and bad him tary untill he had done his conclusion, and brought it to demonstracion: but the souldier being angry with his aunswer, drew out his sword, and killed him. Other say, that the Romaine souldier when he came, offered the swords poynt to him, to kill him: and that Archimedes when he saw him, prayed him to hold his hand a litle, that he might not leave the matter he looked for unperfect, without demonstracion. But the souldier makinge no reckening of his speculation, killed him presently. It is reported a third way also, sayinge, that certeine souldiers met him in the streetes going to Marcellus, carying certeine Mathematicall instrumentes in a litle pretie coffer, as dialles for the sunne, Sphaeres and Angles, wherewith they measure the greatnesse of the body of the sunne by viewe: and they supposing he hadde caried some golde or silver, or other pretious Iuells in that litle coffer, slue him for it. But it is most true, that Marcellus was marvelous sorie for his death, and ever after hated the villen that slue him, as a cursed and execrable persone: and howe he made also marvelous much afterwards of Archimedes kinsemen for his sake. The Romaines were esteemed of at that time by all nations, for marvelous expert souldiers, and taken for verie vallyant and daungerous men to be dealt with: but they never shewed any example of their clemencie and curtesie, and least of all of any civill manner to any straungers, untill Marcellus taught the way, whose actes did shewe the Greecians then, that the Romaines were more gracious and mercifull, then they.

Engyium a city in Sicile and the craft of Nicias.

THERE is a citie in Sicile called Engyium, it is no great thinge, but a verie auncient citie of name, by reason of the trafficke thither, for that there are certeine goddesses to be seene, whome they worship, called the mothers. Some say the Cretans were the first builders and founders of the temple there, where you shall see speares and helmets of copper, and apon them are graven the name of Meriones: and apon others, Ulysses name also, which

are consecrated to these goddesses. This citie stooke altogether at the devotion of the Carthaginians: and Nicias beinge the chiefeest man of the same, was all he might against it, and perswaded them openlie in all their counsailes to take parte with the Romaines, provinge it by many reasons, that his enemies counsaylinge the contrarie, were unprofitable members of the common wealth. Whereuppon Nicias enemies fearinge his greatnesse and authoritie, they did conspyre amonge them selves to apprehende him, and to deliver him to the Carthaginians. But Nicias hearinge of suche a matter, and findinge that they laye in wayte to take him: used this pollicie to prevent their treason. He gave out openlie very ill speeches against the goddesses, and did many things in derogation of their honor: and sayd the sight of them (which was a matter of great credit) was but devise, and that there was no credit to be geven to them. These words tickled his enemies, imagining that the common people would lay the mischief they pretended against him, to him selfe, as the only causer of his owne hurt. So they havinge appointed a day to apprehende him, by chaunce a common counsaill was kept that day they hadde determined of: where Nicias speaking to the people about matter of counsaill, in the midst of his oration fell to the ground, to the great wonder of the whole assembly, as every man may conjecture. Howbeit never a man sturred, and a pretty while after he beganne to lift uppe his head a litle, and to looke gastely about him, with a faint trembling voyce, which he still gathered higher and lowder by litle and litle, untill he sawe all the people wonderously afrayed and amazed, that not one of them durst speake. Then throwing his gowne from him, and renting his coate, he got upon his feete halfe naked, and ranne towards the gate of the Theater, crying out that the goddesses mothers did torment him: and not a man durst once come neere him, nor offer to stoppe him, they were so superstitious and foolishly afrayed of the goddesses, imagining it was some divine punishment. But by this meanes he easily got to the gates of the city, and fled from them all: and he was never seene after that time, to do, or speake, like a madde man in any thing. His wife that was made privy to his devise, and furthered his intent, went first and fell downe on her knees before the goddesses mothers in their temple, as she had hartily prayed unto them: and faining afterwards she would go seeke her husbände, that ranne up and

downe the fieldes like a madde man, she went out of the city with her litle children, and no body troubled her. Thus did they escape without daunger, and went unto Marcellus to Syracusa.

Marcellus entreth into Rome with Ovation triumphe.

So Marcellus knowing that he had yet left somewhat to do in Sicile, and that the warre was not altogether ended, and fearing besides least a third triumphe would make him to much envied: he was contented with good will to have the honor of the great triumphe, in the mountaine of Alba only: and of the litle triumphe, in the city of Rome. This maner of litle triumphe is called in Greeke, *Evan*, and the Romaines call it *Ovatio*. And this difference there is betwene them: that in the *Ovation* triumphe, the party to whom it is graunted, doth not enter into the city upon triumphing charet drawn with foure horses, nor doth cary any lawrell upon his head in token of triumphe, nor hath any trompettes or hornes blown before him, but doth marche a foote with a payer of slippers on his fete, having flutes and how-boyes playing before him, and wearing a garlande of fyrr tree upon his heade: so as this maner of entry is nothing warlike, and is rather a pleasaunt then fearefull sight. And that reason doth flatly drawe me to beleve, that these two kindes of entries they graunted to the Captaines, returning from the warres with victorie: were devided in the olde time, rather for the maner, then for the greatnes of the doings. For such as had overcome their enemies by great slaughter and bloody battells, they did make their entry with pompe of triumphe, that was altogether marshall and terrible, followed with their souldiers armed, and crowned with lawrell garlandes, as their custome was in musteringe their campe in the warres. But they on the contrary side, that without any exployte of armes returned home with victorie, either by peaceable meanes, or by force of their eloquence: the law graunted them the honor of *Ovation* triumphe, which was quiet, and full of all joy and mirth. For the flute is an instrument of pleasure belonginge to peace, and the fyrr tree is a tree consecrated to Venus, which goddess, above all goddes and goddesses doth most detest warres. This second kinde of entry was called *Ovatio*, not as many Greecians have taken it, comming of this word *Evan*, which is a voyce and song of joy, although they did use

also to accompanie the Captaines making their entry in this sorte, crying and singing *Evan*: but there were certeine Grecians that would have fetched the derivation of this word, from an old common custome they had: and were of opinion besides, that parte of this honor did apperteine to god Bacchus, whose surname we cal Evius, and somtimes Thriambus. Howbeit this is not the true derivation of the name, but after this sorte. At the great triumphe and entry made, the Captaine or generall that triumpheth as a conqueror, did offer and sacrifice (by the old orders and ancient customes of Rome) one, or divers oxen: where at the seconde triumphe called the Ovation, he onely sacrificed a mutton, which the Romaines call in their tongue *Ovem*, and thereof was it called Ovation.

MARCUS CATO THE CENSOR

Cato called an upstart.

MARCUS CATO and his auncesters, were (as they say) of the city of Thusculum: but before he went unto the warres, and delt in matters of the common wealth, he dwelt and lived in the contry of the Sabynes, upon certeine land his father left him. And though to many, his auncesters were knowen to have been obscure: yet he him self did highly commende his father Marcus, by bearing his name, and saying he was a souldier, and had served valliantly in the felde. And he telleth also of an other Cato that was his great grandfather, who for his valliant service had bene oft rewarded of the generals, with such honorable giftes, as the Romaines did use to geve unto them, that had done some famous act in any battell: and how that he havinge lost five horses of service in the warres, the value of the same were restored to him againe in money of the common treasure, because he had shewed himselfe trusty and valliant for the common wealth. And where they had a common speeche at Rome to call them upstartes, that were no gentlemen borne, but did rise by vertue: it fortun'd Cato to be called one of them. And for his parte, he did confesse it, that he was of the first of the house that ever had honor, and office of state: but by reason of the noble actes and good service of his auncestors, he maintained he was very auncient.

Catoes maners and life:

TOUCHINGE the disposition of his body, he was marvelous stronge and lusty, and all bicause he did use to labor and toyle even from his youth, and to live sparingly, as one that was ever brought up in the warres from his youth: so that he was of a very good constitucion, both for strength of body, as for health also. As for utterance, he esteemed it as a seconde body, and most necessarie gift, not onely to make men honest, but also as a thinge very requisite for a man that should beare sway and authoritie in the common wealth. He practised to speake well in litle villages neere home, whether he went many times to plead mennes causes in courtes judiciall, that would retaine him of counsell: so as in shorte time he became a perfect pleader, and had tongue at will, and in processe of time became an excellent orator. After he was thus well knowen, they that were familiar with him, began to perceive a grave manner and behaviour in his life, and a certaine noble minde in him, worthie to be employed in matters of state and great importance, and to be called into the common wealth. For he did not onely refuse to take fees for his pleading, and following the causes he mainteined: but furthermore made no reckening of the estimacion he wanne by that manner and practise, as though that was not the only marke he shot at.

The thriftines of Manius Curius.

Now it fortunied, that Manius Curius the Romaine, who had triumphed thrise, hadde a prety house and lande hard by Cato, where he kept in times past, which Cato for a walke would visite oft. And he considering how litle lande he had to his house, and what a litle house he had withall, and how poorely it was built, wondered with him selfe what maner of man Curius had bene, that having bene the greatest man of Rome in his time, and having subdued the mightiest nations and people of all Italie, and driven kinge Pyrrus also out of the same: yet him selfe with his owne handes did manure that litle patche of grounde, and dwel in so poore and small a farme. Whether notwithstanding, after his three triumphes, the Samnytes sent their Ambassadors to visite him, who founde him by the fyers side seething of perse-neapes, and presented him a marvelous deale of golde from their state and communalty. But Curius returned them againe with

their gold, and told them, that such as were contented with that supper, had no nede of gold nor silver: and that for his parte, he thought it greater honor to commaunde them that had gold, then to have it him selfe. Cato remembring these thinges to him selfe, went home againe, and beganne to thinke upon his house, of his livinge, of his family and servautes, and also of his expences: and to cut of all superfluous charges, and fell him selfe to labor with his owne handes, more then ever he hadde done before.

Catoes wonderfull thrift and sharpnes.

FOR he writeth him selfe, that there never came gowne on his backe that cost him above a hundred pence, and that his hyndes and worke men alwayes dronke no worse wine, when he was Consull and generall of the armie, then he did him selfe: and that his cater never bestowed in meate for his supper, above thirty Asses of Romaine money, and yet he sayed it was, bicause he might be the stronger, and apter to do service in the warres for his contry and the common wealth. He sayd furthermore, that being heire to one of his frends that dyed, he had a peece of tapestry by him with a deepe border, which they called then the babilonian border, and he caused it straight to be solde: and that of all his houses he had abroad in the contry, he had not one wall plastered, nor rough cast. Moreover he would say, he never bought bondeman or slave dearer, then a thowsande five hundred pence, as one that sought not for fine made men, and goodly personages, but strong fellowes that could away with paynes, as carters, horsekeepers, neatheardes, and such like: and againe he would sell them when they were olde, bicause he would not keepe them when they coule do no service. To conclude, he was of opinion, that a manne bought any thinge deere, that was for litle purpose: yea, though he gave but a farthing for it, he thought it to much to bestow so litle, for that which needed not. He would have men purchase houses, that hadde more store of erable lande and pasture, then of fine orteyardes or gardeins. Some saye, he didde thus, for very miserie and covetousnesse: other thinke, and tooke it that he lived so sparingely, to move others by his example to cutte of all superfluitie and wast. Neverthelesse, to sell slaves in that sorte, or to turne them out of dores when you

have hadde the service of all their youth, and that they are growen olde, as you use brute beastes that have served whilst they may for age: me thinkes that must needes proceede of to seveare and greedie nature, that hath no lenger regarde or consideration of humanitie, then whilst one is able to doe an other good. For we see, gentlenesse goeth further then justice. For nature teacheth us to use justice onely unto menne, but gentlenesse sometimes is shewed unto brute beastes: and that cometh from the very fountaine and springe of all curtesie and humanitie, which shoulde never drye up in any manne livinge. For to saye truely, to keepe cast horses spoyled in our service, and dogges also not onely when they are whelpes, but when they be olde: be even tokens of love and kindenesse.

A gentle lawe made by the Athenians in favor of their laboringe moyles.

As the Athenians made a lawe, when they builded their temple called Hecatompodon: that they shoulde suffer the moyles and mulettes that did service in their cariages about the buildinge of the same, to graze everie where, without lette or trouble of any manne. And they say, there was one of those moyles thus turned at libertie, that came of her selfe to the place to labour, goinge before all the other draught beastes, that drew uppe cartes loden towards the castell, and kept them companie, as though she seemed to encorage the rest to drawe: which the people liked so well in the poore beast, that they appointed she shoulde be kept whilst she lived, at the charge of the towne. . . . And there is no reason, to use livinge and sencible thinges, as we woulde use an olde shooe or a ragge: to cast it out upon the dongehill when we have worne it, and can serve us no longer. For if it were for no respect els, but to use us alwayes to humanitie: we must ever showe our selves kinde and gentle, even in such small poyntes of pitie. And as for me, I coulde never finde in my hart to sell my drawght Oxe that hadde plowed my lande a longe time, bicause he coulde plowe no longer for age: and much lesse my slave to sell him for a litle money, out of the contrie where he had dwelt a long time, to plucke him from his olde trade of life wherewith he was best acquainted, and then specially, when he shalbe as unprofitable for the buyer, as also for the seller.

Catoes image set up in the temple of the goddesse of health.

HOWEVERT it seemed the people of Rome did greatly like and commend his government in the Censorshippe. For they set up a statue of him in the temple of the goddesse of health, whereunder they wrote not his victories nor triumphe, but only ingraved this inscription word for worde, to this effect by translation: For the honor of Marcus Cato the Censor: because he reformed the discipline of the common wealth of Rome (that was farre out of order, and given to licentious life) by his wise preceptes, good maners, and holy institutions. In deede, before this image was set up for him, he was wont to mocke at them that delighted, and were desirous of such thinges: saying, they did not consider how they bragged in founders, painters, and image makers, but nothing of their vertues: and that for him selfe, the people did alwayes cary lively images of him in their hartes, meaninge the memory of his life and doings. When some wondered why diverse meane men and unknowne persones had images set up of them, and there were none of him: he gave them this aunswer: I had rather men should aske why Cato had no Image set up for him, then why he had any. In the ende, he would have no honest man abide to be praised, onles his praise turned to the benefit of the common wealth: and yet was he one of them that would most praise him selfe. So that if any had done a fault, or stept awry, and that men had gone about to reprove them: he woulde say they were not to be blamed, for they were no Catoes that did offende. And such as counterfeated to follow any of his doinges, and came shorte of his maner, he called them left handed Catoes. He would say, that in most daungerous times the Senate used to cast their eyes upon him, as passengers on the sea do looke upon the master of the shippe in a storme: and that many times when he was absent, the Senate would put over matters of importance, untill he might come amonge them. And this is confirmed to be true, as well by other, as by him selfe. His authority was great in matters of state, for his wisdom, his eloquence, and great experience.

Carneades, and Diogenes Philosophers sent Ambassadors to Rome.

WHEN Cato was growen very olde, Carneades the Academicke, and Diogenes the Stoicke, were sent from Athens as Ambassa-

dors to Rome, to sue for a release of a fyne of five hundred talentes which they had imposed on the Athenians apou a condemnation passed against them, for a contempt of appearaunce, by the sentence of the Sicyonians, at the sute of the Oropians. Immediatly when these two Philosophers were arrived in the citie of Rome, the yonge gentlemen that were geven to their bookes, did visite and welcome them, and gave great reverence to them after they had heard them speake, and specially to Carneades: whose grace in speaking, and force of perswading was no lesse, then the fame ranne uppon him, and specially when he was to speake in so great an audience, and before such a state, as would not suppress his praise. Rome straight was full, as if a winde had blown this rumor into every mans care: that there was a Greecian arrived, a famous learned man, who with his eloquence would leade a man as he lust. There was no other talke a while through the whole city, he had so inflamed the younge gentlemens mindes with love and desire to be learned: that all other pleasure and delightes were set a side, and they disposed them selves to no other exercise, but to the study of Philosophy, as if some secrete and divine inspiration from above had procured them to it. Whereof the Lordes and Senators of Rome were glad, and rejoyced much to see their youth so well geven to knowledge, and to the study of the Greeke tongue, and to delite in the company of these two great and excellent learned men. But Marcus Cato, even from the beginning that young men beganne to study the Greeke tongue, and that it grewe in estimation in Rome, did dislike of it: fearing least the youth of Rome that were desirous of learninge and eloquence, would utterly give over the honor and glory of armes.

M A R C U S T U L L I U S C I C E R O

Cicero a weake man.

CICERO was dogge leane, a litle eater, and would also eate late, bicause of the greate weakenesse of his stomacke: but yet he had a good lowde voyce, though it was somewhat harshe, and lacked grace and comelynesse. Furthermore he was so earnest and vehement in his Oration that he mounted still with his voyce into the highest tunes: insomuche that men were affrayed it would one daye put him in hazard of his life.

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Yet it is reported notwithstanding, that for his gesture and pronunciacion, having the selfe same defectes of nature at the beginning, which Demosthenes had: to reforme them, he carefully studied to counterfeate Roscius, an excellent commediant, and Aesope also a player of tragedies.

Cicero, ambitious, and desirous of praise.

HE was chosen Treasurer in the time of dearth, when there was great scarcetie of corne at Rome: and the province of Sicile fell to his lotte. At his first comming thither, the Sicilians misliked him verie much, because he compelled them to sende corne unto Rome: but after they had founde his diligence, justice, and lenitie, they honored him above any Governor that ever was sent from Rome. Nowe there were divers young gentlemen of Rome of noble houses, who being accused for sundrie faultes committed in warres against their honor, and martiall discipline, had bene sent backe againe unto the Praetor of Sicile: for whome Cicero pleaded, and did so excellently defende their cause, that they were pardoned everie man. Thereuppon, thinking well of him selfe, when his time expired, he went to Rome, and by the way there happened a pretie feast unto him. As he passed through the contrie of Campania, (otherwise called the lande of labor) he met by chaunce with one of the chiefeest Romanes of all his frends. So falling in talke with him, he asked him what they sayd of him

at Rome, and what they thought of his doings: imagining that all Rome had bene full of the glorie of his name and deedes. His frende asked him againe: And where hast thou bene Cicero all this while, that we have not scene thee at Rome? This killed his hart straight, when he sawe that the reporte of his name and doings, entring into the citie of Rome as into an infinite sea, was so sodainely vanquished away againe, without any other fame or speach. But after that, when he looked into him selfe, and sawe that in reason he tooke an infinite labor in hande to attaine to glorie, wherein he sawe no certaine ende whereby to attaine unto it: it cut of a great parte of the ambicion he had in his head. And yet the great pleasure he tooke to heare his owne praise, and to be overmuch given to desire of honor and estimacion: those two thinges continued with him even to his dying day, and did eftsoones make him swarve from justice. Furthermore, when he beganne thorowely to practise in the affaires of the state, he thought it an ill thing that artificers and craftes men shoulde have meny sortes of instrumentes and tooles without life, to knowe the names of everie one of them, the places where they shoulde take them, and the use whereto they shoulde employ them: and that a man of knowledge and qualitie (who doth all thinges with the helpe and service of men) shoulde be slothfull, and carelesse, to learne to knowe the names of his citizens. Therefore he gave him selfe to knowe, not onely mens names of qualitie, but the streetes also they dwelt in, what parte of the citie soever it was: their goodly houses in the contrie, the frendes they made of, and the neighbours whome they companied with. So that when he went abroade into Italie, wheresoever he became, Cicero coulde shewe and name his frendes houses.

Augustus Caesars testimony of Cicero.

I UNDERSTOOD that Caesar Augustus, long time after that, went one day to see one of his Nephewes, who had a booke in his hande of Ciceroes: and he fearing least his Uncle woulde be angrie to finde that booke in his handes, thought to hide it under his gowne. Caesar saw it, and tooke it from him, and red the most parte of it standing, and then delivered it to the young boy, and said unto him: He was a wise man in deede, my childe, and loved his contrie well.

The meeting of the Triumviri: Antonius, Lepidus, Octavius Caesar.

THEIR meeting was by the citie of Bolonia, where they continued three dayes together, they three only secretly consulting in a place environned about with a litle river. Some say that Caesar stuck hard with Cicero the two first dayes, but at the third, that he yeelded and forsooke him. The exchange they agreed upon betwene them, was this. Caesar forsooke Cicero: Lepidus, his owne brother Paulus: and Antonius, Lucius Caesar, his uncle by the mothers side. Such place tooke wrath in them, as they regarded no kinred nor blood, and to speake more properly, they shewed that no brute or savage beast is so cruell as man, if with his licentiousnes he have liberty to execute his will. While these matters were a brewing, Cicero was at a house of his in the contrie, by the city of Thusculum, having at home with him also his brother Quintus Cicero. Newes being brought them thither of these proscriptions or outlawries, appointing men to be slaine: they determind to goe to Astyra, a place by the sea side where Cicero had an other house, there to take sea, and from thence to goe into Macedon unto Brutus. For there ran a rumor that Brutus was verie strong, and had a great power. So, they caused themselves to be conveyed thither in two litters, both of them being so weake with sorow and grieve, that they could not otherwise have gone their wayes. As they were on their waye, both their litters going as neere to ech other as they could, they bewailed their miserable estate: but Quintus chiefly, who tooke it most grievously. For, remembring that he tooke no money with him when he came from his house, and that Cicero his brother also had verie litle for him selfe: he thought it best that Cicero shoulde holde on his journey, whilst he him selfe made an arrant home to fetch such things-as he lacked, and so to make hast againe to overtake his brother. They both thought it best so, and then tenderly imbracing one an other, the teares falling from their eyes, they tooke leave of ech other. Within few dayes after, Quintus Cicero being betrayed by his owne servaunts, unto them that made search for him: he was cruelly slaine, and his sonne with him. But Marcus Tullius Cicero being caried unto Astyra, and there finding a shippe readie, imbarcked immediatly, and sayled alongest the coast unto mount Circe, having a good gale of winde. There the mariners determining forthwith to make sayle againe, he came a shore, either for feare of the sea, or for that he

had some hope that Caesar had not altogether forsaken him: and therewithall returning towards Rome by lande, he had gone about a hundred furlong thence. But then being at a straight howe to resolve, and sodainly chaunging his minde: he would needes be caried backe againe to the sea, where he continued all night marvelous sorrowfull, and full of thoughts. For one while he was in minde to goe secretly unto Octavius Caesars house, and to kill him selfe by the hearth of his chimney, to make the furies of hell to revenge his blood: but being affraied to be intercepted by the way, and cruelly handled, he turned from that determination. Then falling into other unadvised determinations, being perplexed as he was, he put him selfe againe into his servauntes handes, to be conveyed by sea to an other place called Capites. There he had a very proper pleasaunt sommer house, where the North winds, called Étesiae, doe geve a trimme fresh ayer in the sommer season. In that place also there is a litle temple dedicated unto Apollo, not farre from the sea side. From thence there came a great shole of crowes, making a marvelous noyse, that came flying towards Ciceroes shippe, which rowed upon the shore side. This shole of crowes came and lighted upon the yard of their saile, some crying, and some pecking the cords with their bills: so that every man judged straight, that this was a signe of ill lucke at hand. Cicero notwithstanding this, came a shore, and went into his house, and layed him downe to see if he coulde sleepe. But the most parte of these crowes came and lighted upon the chamber windowe where he lay, making a wonderfull great noyse: and some of them got unto Ciceroes bedde where he lay, the clothes being cast over his head, and they never left him, till by litle and litle they had with their bills pluckt of the clothes that covered his face. His men seeing that, and saying to them selves that they were too vile beasts, if they would tarie to see their maister slaine before their eyes, considering that brute beasts had care to save his life, seeing him so unworthily intreated, and that they should not doe the best they coulde to save his life: partely by intreatie, and partely by force, they put him againe into his litter to carie him to the sea.

Herennius, and Popilius, sent to kill M. T. Cicero.

BUT in the meane time came the murderers appointed to kill him, Herennius a Centurion, and Popilius Laena, Tribune of

the souldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thowsande men, whose cause Cicero had once pleaded before the Iudges, when he was accused for the murther of his owne father) having souldiers attending upon them. So Ciceroes gate being shut, they entred the house by force, and missing him, they asked them of the house what was become of him. They aunswered, they could not tell. Howbeit there was a young boy in the house called Philologus, a slave infranchised by Quintus Cicero, whom Tullius Cicero had brought up in the Latin tongue, and had taught him the liberall sciences: he told this Herennius, that his servauntes caried him in a litter towards the sea, through darke narrowe lanes, shadowed with wodde on either side. Popilius the Colonell taking some souldiers with him, ranne about on the outside of the lanes to take him at his comming out of them: and Herennius on thother side entred the lanes. Cicero hearing him comming, commaunded his men to set downe his litter, and taking his beard in his left hande, as his manner was, he stowtly looked the murderers in the faces, his heade and beard being all white, and his face leane and wrinckled, for the extreame sorowes he had taken: divers of them that were by, helde their handes before their eyes, whilst Herennius did cruelly murder him. So Cicero being three score and foure yeares of age, thrust his necke out of the litter, and had his head cut of by Antonius commaundement, and his hands also, which wrote the Orations (called the Philippians) against him. For so did Cicero call the Orations he wrote against him, for the malice he bare him: and do yet continue the same name untill this present time. When these poore dismembred members were brought to Rome, Antonius by chaunce was busily occupied at that time about the election of certaine officers: who when he heard of them and saw them, he cried out alowde that now all his outlawries and proscriptions were executed: and thereuppon commaunded his head and his hands should straight be set up over the pulpit for Orations, in the place called Rostra. This was a fearefull and horrible sight unto the Romanes, who thought they saw not Ciceroes face, but an image of Antonius life and disposicion.

I U L I U S C A E S A R

The seege of Alexia.

BUT now during this seege, he fell into a marvelous great daunger without, almost incredible. For an armie of three hundred thowsand fighting men of the best men that were among all the nations of the Gaules, came against him, being at the seege of Alexia, besides them that were within the citie, which amounted to the number of three score and tenne thowsand fighting men at the least: so that perceiving he was shut in betwixt two so great armies, he was driven to fortifie him selfe with two walls, the one against them of the citie, and the other against them without. For if those two armies had joyned together, Caesar had bene utterly undone. And therefore, this seege of Alexia, and the battell he wanne before it, did deservedly winne him more honor and fame, then any other. For there, in that instant and extreame daunger, he shewed more valiantnes and wisdom, then he did in any battell he fought before. But what a wonderfull thing was this? that they of the citie never heard any thing of them that came to ayde them, untill Caesar had overcome them: and furthermore, that the Romanes them selves which kept watch upon the wall that was built against the citie, knew also no more of it, then they, but when it was done, and that they heard the cryes and lamentacions of men and women in Alexia, when they perceived on thother side of the citie such a number of glistering shields of gold and silver, such store of bloody corselets and armors, such a deale of plate and moveables, and such a number of tents and pavilyons after the facion of the Gaules, which the Romanes had gotten of their spoyles in their campe. Thus sodainely was this great armie vanished, as a dreame or vision: where the most part of them were slaine that day in battell. Furthermore, after that they within the citie of Alexia had done great hurt to Caesar, and them selves also: in the ende, they all yelded them selves. And Vercingentorix (he that was their king and Capteine in all this warre) went out of the gates excellently well armed, and his horse furnished with riche capparison accordingly, and rode round about Caesar, who sate in his chayer of estate. Then light-

ing from his horse, he tooke of his capparison and furniture, and unarmed him selfe, and layed all on the ground, and went and sate downe at Caesars feete, and sayd never a word. So Caesar at length committed him as a prisoner taken in the warres, to leade him afterwards in his triumphe at Rome.

Crossing the Rubicon.

NOWE at that time, Caesar had not in all about him, above five thowsand footemen, and three thowsand horsemen: for the rest of his armie, he left on thother side of the Mountaines to be brought after him by his Lieuetenants. So, considering that for the execution of his enterprise, he should not neede so many men of warre at the first, but rather sodainly stealing upon them, to make them affraid with his valiantnes, taking benefit of the oportunitie of tyme, bicause he should more easily make his enemies affraid of him, then he should otherwise distresse them, assailing them with his whole armie, in giving them leysure to provide further for him: he commaunded his Captaines and Lieuetenants to go before, without any other armor then their swords, to take the citie of Ariminum, (a great citie of Gaule, being the first citie men come to, when they come out of Gaule) with as litle bloodshed and tumult, as they could possible. Then committing that force and armie he had with him, unto Hortensius one of his friends: he remeyned a whole day together, openly in the sight of every man, to see the sworde players handle their weapons before him. At night he went into his lodging, and bathing his body a litle, came afterwards into the hall amongst them, and made mery with them a while, whome he had bidden to supper. Then when it was well forwarde night, and very darke, he rose from the table, and prayed his company to be mery, and no man to sturre, for he would straight come to them againe: howbeit he had secretly before commaunded a fewe of his trustiest frendes to followe him, not altogether, but some one way, and some an other way. He him selfe in the meane tyme tooke a coche he had hyered, and made as though he woulde have gone some other waye at the first, but sodainely he turned backe againe towardes the citie of Ariminum. When he was come unto the litle ryver of Rubicon, which devideth Gaule on this side the Alpes from Italy: he stayed uppon a sodaine. For, the nearer he came to execute his purpose, the more remorse he had in his conscience, to

thinke what an enterprise he tooke in hand : and his thoughts also fell out more doubtfull, when he entred into consideration of the desperatnes of his attempt. So he fell into many thoughts with him selfe, and spake never a word, waving sometime one way, sometime an other way, and often times chaunged his determination, contrary to him selfe. So did he talke much also with his friends he had with him, amongst whom was Asinius Pollio, telling them what mischieues the beginning of this passage over that river would breede in the world, and how much their posteritie and them that lived after them, would speake of it in time to come. But at length, casting from him with a noble courage, all those perillous thoughts to come, and speaking these words which valiant men commonly say, that attempt daungerous and desperat enterprises, 'A desperat man feareth no daunger, come on': he passed over the river, and when he was come over, he ranne with his coche and never staid, so that before day light he was within the citie of Ariminum, and tooke it.

Predictions, and foreshewes of Caesars death.

SOME one day accusing Brutus while he practised this conspiracy, Caesar would not heare of it, but clapping his hande on his bodie, told them, Brutus will looke for this skinne: meaning thereby, that Brutus for his vertue, deserved to rule after him, but yet, that for ambitions sake, he woulde not shewe him selfe unthankfull nor dishonorable. Nowe they that desired chaunge, and wished Brutus only their Prince and Governour above all other: they durst not come to him them selves to tell him what they woulde have him to doe, but in the night did cast sundrie papers into the Praetors seate where he gave audience, and the most of them to this effect: Thou sleepest Brutus, and art not Brutus in deede. Cassius finding Brutus ambition sturred up the more by these seditious billes, did pricke him forward, and egge him on the more, for a private quarrell he had conceived against Caesar: the circumstance whereof, we have sette downe more at large in Brutus life. Caesar also had Cassius in great gelouzie, and suspected him much: whereuppon he sayd on a time to his frendes, What will Cassius doe, thinke ye? I like not his pale lookes. An other time when Caesars frendes complained unto him of Antonius, and Dolabella, that they pretended some mischiefe towards him: he aunswered them againe, As for those

fatte men and smooth comed heades, quoth he, I never reckon of them: but these pale visaged and carian leane people, I feare them most, meaning Brutus and Cassius. Certainly, destenie may easier be foreseene, then avoyded: considering the straunge and wonderfull signes that were sayd to be seene before Caesars death. For, touching the fires in the element, and spirites running up and downe in the night, and also these solitarie birdes to be seene at noone dayes sittinge in the great market place: are not all these signes perhappes worth the noting, in such a wonderfull chaunce as happened? But Strabo the Philosopher wryteth, that divers men were seene going up and downe in fire: and furthermore, that there was a slave of the souldiers, that did cast a marvelous burning flame out of his hande, insomuch as they that saw it, thought he had bene burnt, but when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. Caesar selfe also doing sacrifice unto the goddes, found that one of the beastes which was sacrificed had no hart: and that was a straunge thing in nature, how a beast could live without a hart. Furthermore, there was a certaine Soothsayer that had geven Caesar warning long time affore, to take heede of the day of the Ides of Marche, (which is the fifteenth of the moneth) for on that day he shoulde be in great daunger. That day being come, Caesar going unto the Senate house, and speaking merily to the Soothsayer, tolde him, The Ides of Marche be come: So be they, softly aunswered the Soothsayer, but yet are they not past. And the very day before, Caesar supping with Marcus Lepidus, sealed certaine letters as he was wont to do at the lord: so talke falling out amongst them, reasoning what death was best: he preventing their opinions, cried out alowde, Death unlooked for.

The Revenge of Caesars death.

CAESAR dyed at six and fifty yeres of age: and Pompey also lived not passing foure yeares more then he. So he reaped no other frute of all his raigne and dominion, which he had so vehemently desired all his life, and pursued with such extreame daunger: but a vaine name only, and a superficial glory, that procured him the envy and hatred of his contrie. But his great prosperitie and good fortune that favored him all his life time, did continue afterwards in the revenge of his death, pursuing the murtherers both by sea and land, till they had not left a man more to be executed, of al

them that were actors or counsellors in the conspiracy of his death. Furthermore, of all the chaunces that happen unto men upon the earth, that which came to Cassius above all other, is most to be wondered at. For he being overcome in battell at the journey of Philippes, slue him selfe with the same sworde, with the which he strake Caesar. Againe, of signes in the element, the great comet which seven nightes together was seene very bright after Caesars death, the eight night after was never seene more. Also the brightnes of the sonne was darkened, the which all that yeare through rose very pale, and shined not out, whereby it gave but small heate: therefore the ayer being very cloudy and darke, by the weakenes of the heate that could not come foorth, did cause the earth to bring foorth but raw and unrype frute, which rotted before it could rype. But above all, the ghost that appeared unto Brutus shewed plainly, that the goddes were offended with the murther of Caesar. The vision was thus: Brutus being ready to passe over his army from the citie of Abydos, to the other coast lying directly against it, slept every night (as his manner was) in his tent, and being yet awake, thinking of his affaires: (for by reporte he was as carefull a Captaine, and lived with as litle sleepe, as ever man did) he thought he heard a noyse at his tent dore, and looking towards the light of the lampe that waxed very dimme, he saw a horrible vision of a man, of a wonderfull greatnes, and dreadfull looke, which at the first made him marvelously afraid. But when he sawe that it did him no hurt, but stode by his bedde side, and sayd nothing: at length he asked him what he was. The image aunswered him: I am thy ill angell, Brutus, and thou shalt see me by the citie of Philippes. Then Brutus replied againe, and sayd: Well, I shall see thee then. Therewithall, the spirit presently vanished from him. After that time Brutus being in battell neere unto the citie of Philippes, against Antonius and Octavius Caesar, at the first battell he wan the victorie, and overthrowing all them that withstoode him, he drave them into young Caesars campe, which he tooke. The second battell being at hand, this spirit appeared again unto him, but spake never a word. Thereuppon Brutus knowing he should dye, did put him selfe to all hazard in battell, but yet fighting could not be slaine. So seeing his men put to flight and overthrowen, he ranne unto a litle rocke not farre of, and there setting his swordes point to his brest, fell upon it, and slue him selfe, but yet as it is reported. with the helpe of his frend, that dispatched him.

HELIODORUS
AN AETHIOPIAN HISTORIE

Translated into English by

THOMAS UNDERDOWNE

Anno 1587

WITH a tale forsooth he commeth unto you, with a tale which holdeth children from play, and old men from the chimney-corner.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY, *Defense of Poesie.*

HELIODORUS

The Robbers of Egypt.

AS soone as the day appeared, and the Sunne began to shine on the tops of the hilles, men, whose custome was to live by rapine and violence, ranne to the top of a hill that stretched toward the mouth of Nylus, called Heracleot: where standing awhile they viewed the sea underneath them, and when they had looked a good season a far off into the same, and could see nothing that might put them in hope of pray, they cast their eyes somewhat neare the shoare: where a shippe, tyed with cables to the maine land, lay at road, without sailers, & full fraughted, which thing they who were a farre of might easily coniecture: for the burden caused the shippe to drawe water within the bourdes of the decke. But on the shore every place was ful of men, some quite dead, some halfe dead, some whose bodies yet panted, & plainly declared that there had ben a battell fought of late. But there could be seene no signes or tokens of any iust quarell, but there seemed to be an ill and unluckie banket, and those that remained, obtained such ende. For the tables were furnished with delicate dishes, some whereof laie in the handes of those that were slaine, being in steede of weapons to some of them in the battaile, so souddeyly begunne. Other covered such as croke under them to hide them selves, as they thought. Besides, the cuppes were overthrowen, and fell out of the handes, either of them that dranke, or those, who had insteade of stones used them. For that soudaine mischiefe wrought newe devises, and taught them in steade of weapons to use their pottes. Of those who lay there, one was wounded with an Axe, an other was hurte with the shelles of fishes, whereof on the shore there was great plentie, an other was al to crushed with a lever, many burnt with fire, and the rest by divers other meanes, but most of all were slaine with arrowes. To be brief, God shewed, a wonderfull sight in so shorte time, bruining bloude with wine, ioyning battaile with banketting, mingling indifferently slaughters with drinkings, and killing with quaffinges, providing such a sight for the theeves of Egypt to gaze at. For they when they had given these thinges the look-

inge on a good while from the hill, coulde not understande what that sight meante, for asmuch as they saw some slaine there, but the conquerours coulde they see no where a manifest victorie but no spoys taken away, a shippe without mariners onely, but as concerninge other thinges untouched, as if shee had beene kept with a garde of many men, and lay at roade in a saulfe harbour. But for all that they knew not what that thing meant, yet they had respect to their lucre and gaine.

When therefore they had determined that themselves were the victors, they drewe neere unto the same: and not being now farre from the ship, and those that were slain, they sawe a sight more perplexed then the rest a great deale. A maid endued with excellent beautie, which also might be supposed a goddess, sate uppon a rocke, who seemed not a little to bee grieved with that present mischaunce, but for al that of excellent courage: she had a garlande of laurell on her head, a quiver on her backe, and in her lefte hand a bowe, leaning uppon her thigh with her other hande, and looking downewarde, without moving of her head, beholding a certaine young man a good way off, the which was sore wounded, and seemed to lift up him selfe, as if he had bin wakened out of a dead sleepe, almost of death it selfe: yet was he in this case of singular beautie, and for all that his cheekes were besprinkled with bloude, his whitenes did appeare so much the more. He was constrained for grieve to cloase his eyes, yet caused he the maide to looke stedfastly upon him, & these things must they needs see, because they saw her. But as soone as he came to him selfe a little, he uttered these words very faintly. And art thou safe in deede my sweet hart, quoth he? or els hast thou with thy death by any mischance augmented this slaughter? thou canst not, no not by death be separated from me. But of the fruition of thy fight and thy life, doeth all mine estate depend. Yea in you (answered the maide) doeth my whole fortune consist, whether I shall live or die, and for this cause, you see (shewing a knife in her hande) this was hetherto readie, but only for your recovering was restrayned. And as soone as shee had saide thus, she leapt from the stone, and they who were on the hill, as well for wonder, as also for the feare they had, as if they had beene stricken with lightning, ranne everie man to hide them in the bushes there beside. For she seemed to them a thing of greater price, and more heavenlie, when shee stooke upright, and her

arrowes with the sudden moving of her bodie, gave a clashe on her shoulders, her apparrell wrought with golde glistered against the Sunne, and her hair under her garlande, blowen about with the winde, covered a great part of her backe. The theeves were greatly afraide of these thinges, the rather for that they understoode not what that should meane which they sawe. Some of them saide in deede that it was a Goddesse and Diana, other said it was Isis, which was honoured there: but some of them said it was some Priest of the Gods, that replenished with divine furie had made the great slaughter which there appeared, and thus everie man gave his verдите, because they knewe not the trueth. But she hastilie running to the young man, embraced him, wept for sorrowe, kissed him, wiped away his bloud, and made pitifull mone, being very carefull for his safetie, which thing when the Aegyptians had seene, they turned their opinions: And are these, said they, the workes of a Goddesse? would a Goddesse kisse a dead man with such compassion? they determined therfore with themselves, that it was best to take hart of grace, & go know what the matter was in deede. When they had therefore encouraged each other a little, they ranne downe, and found the maid busie in dressing the young mans woundes, and comming behinde her suddenlie, stooode still, and durst neither speake nor doe anie thing more for their lives.

When she heard the sounde of somewhat about her, and their shadowes before her eyes, she lifted her selfe up a little, and looked backe, but stouped againe straight, no whit abashed to see the theeves in harnesse, but applyed her selfe only to bind up his wounds that lay before her. Such is the force of earnest desire and true love, it despiseth all outward chaunces, be they pleasant or otherwise, onely beholding that which it loveth, and thereabout bestoweth all diligence and travell. But when the theeves passed by, and stooode before her, and seemed that they would enterprise somewhat, she lifted her self up againe, and beholding them blacke coloured, and evil favoured, sayde: If you be the spirites of those who are slayne here, you trouble us w[r]ongfully, for most of you were slayne with your owne hands. As for us, if we slue any, we did it but in our owne defence, to repell the violence which was proffered to my virginittie, but if you be men alive, it seemeth you are theeves, as maye be deemed by the time you come in, you maye doe us a pleasure to ridde us from these

present miseries, and by death to finish this our unhappie tragedie. Thus did shee sorrowfully lament, but they not understanding what she sayde, left them there, accounting their owne infirmitie, a suff[i]cient garde to keepe them, and hasted to the shippe, and brought out that which was in the same: everie man bearing out as much as hee coulde of golde, silver, precious stones, and sylke, not regarding other things whereof therein was great store. And when they thought, they had enough, and there was such plentie as might seeme to satisfie the theeves desire, laying their pray on the shore, fell to division of the same, not according to the worth and value of that they had, but contented them selves with equalitie of weight. As for the young man and the mayde, they would take order for them afterwarde.

C I C E R O
T H E B O O K O F F R I E N D S H I P
Translated into English by
J O H N H A R I N G T O N
Anno 1550

*H E was a wise man, indeede my childe,
and loved his country well.*

AUGUSTUS CAESAR to his Nephew
concerning CICERO.

C I C E R O

Friendship.

AND nowe we must set out, howe farre the boundes and pointes of love doe reache in freendeshippe. Whereof I see there be three opinions, and I allow neither of them. One is, that we so love our freend, as we doe our selves. The other, that our good will towarde our freendes, doe a like and equallie answer theyr good will towarde us. The thirde, that howe much every man setteth by him selfe, so muche he shoulde bee sette by of his freendes. But I agre to none of these three opinions. For the first is not trewe, that every man, is a like herted towarde his freende, as he is towarde him selfe. For how many thynges enterprise we for our freendes sake, whiche for our selves we woulde never doe, as to praie and sue to an unworthy man for our freendes cause: to be over earnestly bent against one, and to pursue him very sore: which thynges in our owne mattiers stande not well with honestie, but in our freendes causes bee most honest. There be many thynges also, in which the honest sort, both take awaie and suffer to bee taken from their owne gaines, to thende their frendes rather than them selves, maie enioy them. The second opinion is, that appointeth freendship, to use like benefites, and like good will, but this is to straight and to neere, to bryng freendship to be weied in ballaunce, as though there ought to be a like iompe measure of taking and receyving of pleasures. Me thinketh trewe freendship is a richer and a bountifuller thyng, and doeth not take so narrowe heade to geve no more than it maie receive. Neither is there suche feare to bee taken in freendship, that we lease not a good tourne, or let it fal in the mire, or that we heape not up more benefites than iust measure.

The thirde is the worst, which is, that how muche every man maketh of him selfe, so much he shoulde bee made of by his freende. But in some often tymes either there is a more bashful spirite, or a more comfortles hope of amending their state. It is not therefore the proprettee of a freende, to bee toward him, as he is towarde him selfe, but he ought rather to studie and find the

meanes, that he cheare up his freendes dismaied minde, and bryng hym in a more hope and better comfort. There is therfore another ende of trewe freendship to be made, so that first I shall tell that whiche Scipio was wont chiefly to reprove. He would denie, that any sayyng coulde be founde more against freendshippe than this that saied, men ought so to love, as at sometye they shoulde hate. And he could not be brought to beleve, that this was saied by Bias, as it was reported, who was one of the seven wise men: but that it was the sayyng of some vile and ambitious man, or els of one that would bryng all thynges to his owne power and swaie. For how can one be his freende, whose enemye he thinkes also to be. For first he must nedes desier and wish, that his freende might verie often offende, that he might geve as it were occasions to chide. Againe, he must nedes be greved and freated, or els envie at his freendes good hap and doynges. Wherefore this rule truly were enough (whose so ever it be) to destroy frenship. But this rather were mete, to have a rule made, that we should use such warenesse in providyng of freendes, that we shoulde not begin to love hym, whom at anie tyme we might after hate. Besides, if we had not bene most fortunate in chosyng of our freendes, yet Scipio thought men should beare that mischaunce, rather than to seeke an occasion of fallyng out. These endes in freendship therfore I thynke bee to bee used, that whan freendes maners be honest, all their goodes, counsaill, and good will, should be as comon among them, without any excepcion: and also if chaunce so come to passe, that the dishonest doynges of freendes, bee to bee holpen in thynges, where they stande upon lyfe and death, or upon their estimacion, they maie somewhat swarve out of the waie, so that great dishonestie follow not of it. For freendship maie be pardoned herein. Neither is estimacion to be reiected. Nor yet muste we thinke, that the peoples voice is a small helpe to have a dooeyng in thynges, whiche to get with flatterie & fayre woordes is dishonestie. Therfore vertue, who hath the love of all men folowyng it, is not to be dispised.

C I C E R O
T H E B O O K O F O L D A G E
Translated into English by
T H O M A S N E W T O N
Anno 1569

C I C E R O

Of Old Age.

I WILL now speake of the goodlye pleasures, whyche Husbandmen have, wherein I my selfe have great delighte, whiche are not hindere[d] by old age, and in my opinion their lyfe is most like to a blessed and happie mans life. For their traphique and trade of marchandise is with the earthe, whyche never refuseth to be under their rule and subiection, never is so disobediente nor obstinate, but obedient and serviciaible, and repayeth with great increase of usurie (as who would saye for the use & lone of their seedes and toyle) that which it receyved, but at sometime it doth not rendre so much as it doth at an other time, albeit for the most part, it requiteth their travailes with a great surplusage and accesse of gaine. But yet, I doe not onely take pleasure, in the fruictes and graine which it yeldeth, but also in the strength, nature and power of the earthe it selfe, which receyving the seede in her lappe, and being by tillage and good husbandrie plowed, mollified and well manured, doth for a time at the first keepe and nourishe it, beinge covered within it by harrowing, which is therefore called Occatio, then doth it make it to appeare and peepe oute of the ground, throughe the warmth which it receiveth by the vapourous humyditie, and amicable heate, and so chearishsheth it, that in time it bringeth forth a greene stalke lyke at the firste to grasse or herbes, the which being strengthened by the small shootes and stringes that growe out of the roote, doth by lytle and litle growe up to a bigge stemme, & standing upright upon a knottye straw full of ioyntes, (when it nowe waxeth & draweth nere to ripenes) is included in pods or huskes. Out of the which, as out of a sheath or hose, there commeth forth corne or graine, whiche lay in the eare fensed, fortified and armed againste the pecking and eating of small byrdes with a Rampier or wal of the awnes or beardes. What shoulde I recite and declare the plantinge and pruning of vynes, the increasing and proffites of them: I can not sufficiently tell you, what incredible ioye and pleasure I take therin, how my mynde is set therein, and this I saye, to thentente, that you may throughly understande the

quietnesse and recreation of myne old age. I omitte to speake of the vertues of al such thinges as the earthe bringeth forth: how of one smal kernell of a figge, or one lytle corne or graine of a grape, and finally of other lytle seedes of all other fruites graynes and yonge shootes it bringeth forth and procreateth such greate boles and mightye bodyes, and in fruites or herbes such hyghe stemmes. The smal twigges that bee cut of from the vynes to bee planted els wher, the yong ympes and griftes, the superfluous braunches that are pruned, the plantable vynes, the vaulted and arched herbours that are made for pleasaunte walkes, whereon the vynes maye renne and spread abroad and refreshe men wythe their coole umbrage, the cuttynge downe of olde vynes, that yonge slyppes may theron be set, woulde not all these allure a manne to love and have theym in admiracion?

For all thinges whiche come by course of Nature are to bee reckened and accompted among good things: and what is sooe muche accordynge to naturall course, as for an Olde aged manne to dye? Whych doothe happen to younge men, as it were Maugre Natures good wyll. Therefore younge men in myne opynyon seeme so to dye, as when a raging and violente flame of fyre is quenched, withe a greate quantylie or effusion of water: but old men dye, as it wer, fyer, which lacking woode and combustible matter to nourishe it, goeth out quietly, and is quenched, as though it were of his owne accord, not forciblye. And as Apples which are greene and unripe, are not plucked from the Tree but by a certaine violent plucking, but if they be ripe and mellow, they fal voluntarily downe from the Tree: So lykewyse, younge men depart out of their life by violent force & painful strugge-lyng, but old men dye by a certain rypenes and maturitye. And as often as I thinke thereon, I am rapt with such ioy and coumfort, that the neerer I draw & approch to death, the soner me thinke, I see the dry land, & (as it wer after a long Navigacion and Seafaring voyage) shal at length arrive at the quiet haven and Port of all rest and securitye.

S A L L U S T
T H E C O N S P I R A C Y O F C A T I L I N E
A N D T H E W A R O F J U G U R T H A
Translated into English
by T H O M A S H E Y W O O D
Anno 1608

HISTORIA *est testis Temporum, Lux veritatis:*
Magistra vitae: Nuncia vetustatis.

S A L L U S T
THE CONSPIRACIE OF CATELINE

The description of the battaile.

AFTER a little pausing, he commandeth to sound to the charge, and Marshalling his battallions in very seemely order, approcheth the place of encounter. Where being arrived, hee causeth every man to dismisse his horse, that the daunger being alike, their hopes and constancie should be equall; yea, himselfe on foote, rangeth his people, as the Nature of the place and his numbers would permit.

The plaine was fortified on the left hand with Mountaines; on the right, with a steepe rocke: Betweene these he brought the vauntgard consisting of eight Cohortes: the Ereregard he commaunded to march more close, and in it he placed the chiefe and choisest Centurions.

The Mercinaries and best armed, made the first rankes of the battell: Caius Manlius marched on the right hand, a certaine Fesulan on the left: Himselfe with his fellow-Cittizens, all free men borne, and the aides of the Colonies, stood next unto the standard of the Eagle, the same, they say, that C. Marius displayed in the Cimbrian warre.

On the other side, C. Antonius being sicke of the Gout, could not be at the combate, and therefore made M. Petreyus his Lieutenant Generall. Of old souldiers (pressed out for the suddennesse of the businesse) he made the vaward; the residue he placed behind for succor and advantage. Then gallopping through the rankes, calling upon every Captaine by name, he conjureth, he commandeth, he intreateth, that that day they would shewe themselves men, and call to remembrance that they were to fight but against a rable of unarmed fugitives, for their Countrey, their children, their Religion. This Martiall man had bin above thirty yeares Tribune, and either as Generall, Lieutenant, or Colonell had borne the Offices in many fortunate battailes, wherein he knew the sufficiency of his followers, and their valiant exploits; by repetition whereof, he doubled their courages.

All places thus ordered, hee soundeth the signall, hee marcheth somewhat forward, and then maketh a stand: the like doth Cateline. Then the battailes aproching within shot, they runne fiercely to the shooke, with diuers clamors, and deadly hatred. The shot being spent, they fall to their swords. The old Soldiers disdainig to be foiled, go resolutely to the charge, and are as valiantly received, both dooing their utmost. At last, Cateline comming in with his light armed followers, into the head of the battalions, refresheth the weary, planteth fresh soldiers in the places of the wounded, hath an eye uppon all chances, giveth and taketh many strokes: and finally, performeth the part of a valiant souldier, and an excellent Commander.

Petreyus, assoone as hee perceived the station of Cateline, imagining that there his people should bee sorest travelled; without more ado, chargeth into the midst of his enemies with the Pretorian Cohort, speedily disordereth their rankes, and slayeth as many as make resistance. Then turneth he head upon the winges, and at the first shooke slayeth Manlius and Fesulanus.

When Cateline saw this miserable spectacle, his armie defeated, and few left about him; calling to mind the Honour of his house, and his auncient dignity, thrusteth into the thickest of his enemies, and there valiantly fighting, was slaine.

The battaile beeing ended, what valour and courage had bin in Catelines people, was plainely to be discerned: For what parcell of ground any one made choice of, to stand on in fight, the same being slaine, his slaughtered carcasse covered. Onely a few, violently overborn by the fresh charge of the Pretorian cohort, lay somewhat farther removed; yet al with their deaths-wounds upon the foreparts of their bodies.

The bodie of Cateline was at length found dead amongst the slaughter of his slaine enemies, not yet altogether breathlesse, but in countenance shewing some tokens of his living fiercenesse.

At a word, not one free Cittizen was taken alive, either in fight or flight; neither partie made spare of their owne bloods: So farre forth, that the victory prooved neyther joyfull, nor unbloody to the Roman people. For the bravest men were either slaine in fight, or dangerously wounded. Of many, that went out of their Tents, whether to gaze upon the place of the battaile, or

to rifle the dead bodies of their Adversaries: some found their friends, some their Hosts, some their Kinsmen, and amongst them many of their knowne enemies. Insomuch, that the whole Campe was replenished with diversitie of humors; of joy, of heavinesse, of Triumph, of Mourning.

THE WARRE OF JUGURTH

METELLUS perceiving that hee spent time and men to no purpose, that the Town was impregnable, that Jugurth could not bee forced to fight but by ambushes, and in places of his owne choise, and lastly, that Summer was spent, he arose from Zama, and into those towns which had revolted from Jugurth (being by nature or art any way fortified) he thrust in sufficient garrisons.

The residue of his Troops he led into the province, there to spend the Winter in garrison. Being there, as others had done, he suffered them not to spend their times in sloth and lazinesse: but sithence he could not prevaile by force, he worketh the Kings friends by policy, and prepareth to make use of theyr trayterous mindes instead of fight.

Acquaintance is the Anvile, on which this project must be hammered: Bomilchar the man. This was he, that had accompanied Jugurth to Rome, and after giving in of sureties, had notwithstanding secretly made an escape in feare of processe, for the death of Massiva. Him hee meaneth to make prooffe of by faire words and golden promises.

First he soundeth, and secretly effecteth a private conference, and then upon oth, hee avoweth to procure him pardon, and performance of all other promises from the Lords of the Senat, if he would undertake to deliver him Jugurth alive, or dead.

The Numidian, being partly of a perfidious disposition, and partly misdoubting, that if the Romans and his Lord Jugurth fell into tearmes of peace, himselfe by the Articles of agreement, might happen to bee demaunded, and delivered to punishment, was quickly perswaded.

Upon the first occasion, Bomilchar finding Jugurth troubled and perplexed for his evill fortune, commeth unto him, and with teares in his eyes, moveth and beseecheth him, that he would now at length looke uppon the compassionate estate of himselfe,

his Children, and the whole Kingdome of Numidia, which had so well deserved at his hands. He fayleth not to put him in mind, that in al fights they had carryed away the worst, that the Countrey lay wasted, that much people were either slaine, or carryed away Prisoners: that the wealth of the Kingdome was exhausted. By this time (sayth hee) you have made tryall inough what your Souldiers can doe, what your fortunes can promise: I could wish you to advise, lest your hopes uppon delays fayle you not, the Numidians take some course to provide for themselves.

By these and like reasons, he insinuateth with the kings humours, to fall to composition. Messengers are sent to shewe the Generall, that Jugurth is ready to performe whatsoever is commaunded: that without capitulation he will simply yeeld himselfe and his kingdome to his discretion.

The Generall speedily causeth all the Gentlemen of Senators ranke to bee sent for out of their wintering places, with them and others whom he thinketh meet, he goeth to counsell: according to ancient custome by an order set downe by the Counsell, Jugurth is commanded by Messengers, to bring in two hundred thousand waight of silver, all his Elephants, and a proportion of horse and munition. Which beeing performed with expedition, the Consull likewise commandeth the fugitives to be brought bound before him. According to commaund the greater part are so presented: upon the first motion of the composition some few departed into Mauritania toward king Bocchus.

Thus Jugurth, being bereaved of his Armes, men and mony, is summoned to Tisidrum to performe the Articles; when againe he beganne to repent him of his bargaine, and by the sting of his owne conscience to growe suspitious of deserved punishment.

His doubt wore out many daies, sometime he recounted, that in the irkesomnesse of adverse fortune, all miseries were lighter then the pressures of warre, at another time, his mind was perplexed to thinke upon the hard estate of those, who from a kingdome, were dejected to servitude. At last, being not yet unfurnished with many and great meanes of assistants uncashiered, he beginneth the warre afresh.

At Rome the Lordes going to Counsell, concerning the provinces, Numidia is againe decreed to Metellus. •

THE ROMAN HISTORY
of
TITUS LIVIUS
Translated into English by
PHILEMON HOLLAND
Anno 1600

THE delyghte all receyve by readyng hystories, in every way singulare, a soveraigne medicine for the cares of the mind, a speedy remedy for the gripes of the body. So that Alphonsus Kyng of Spayne, lefte by Physicke as incurable recovered his health by readyng Lyvy.

B. R. to MAYSTER ROBERT DORMER.

L I V Y

Anniball crossing the Alps.

SO that Anniball took up his lodging for one night, without his cariages & horsemen. The morrow after, when as the barbarous people ran betweene them more coldly than before, he joined his forces together, and passed the streight, not without great dammage and losse; but with more hurt of the sumpter horses than of men. After this, the mountainer (fewer in number, and in robbing wise rather than in warlike sort) ran in heapes, one while upon the vaward, other while upon the rere-ward, as any one of them could either get the vantage of ground, or by going one while afore, and by staying another while behind, winne and catch any occasion & opportunity. The elephants, as they were driven with great leasure, because through these narrow streights, they were readie ever & anone to run on their noses: so what way soever they went, they kept the army safe & sure from the enemies; who being not used unto them, durst not once come neer. The ninth day he woon the verie tops of the Alpes, through by-lanes and blind cranks: after he had wandred many times out of the way, either through the deceitfulnesse of their guides, or for that when they durst not trust them, they adventured rashly themselves upon the vallies, and guessed the way at adventure, and went by aime. Two daies abode, he encamped upon the tops thereof, and the soldiours wried with travaile and fight rested that time: certaine also of the sumpter horses (which had slipt aside from the rockes) by following the tracks of the armie as it marched, came to the campe. When they were thus overtolled and wearied with these tedious travailes, the snow that fell (for now the starre Vergilie was set and gone downe out of that horizon) increased their feare exceedingly. Now when as at the breake of day the ensignes were set forward, and the armie marched slowly, through the thicke and deepe snow; and that there appeared in the countenance of them all, slouthfulnesse and desperation: Anniball advanced before the standerds, and commaunded his soldiours to stay upon a certaine high hill, (from whence they had a goodly prospect and might see a great

way all about them) and there shewed unto them Italie, and the goodly champion fields about the Po, which lie hard under the foot of the Alpine mountains: saying, That even then they mounted the wals, not only of Italy, but also of the cittie of Rome; as for all besides (saith hee) will be plaine and easie to be travelled: and after one or two battailes at the most, ye shall have at your command, the verie castle and head citie of all Italy. Then began the armie to march forward: and as yet the enemies verely themselves adventured nothing at all, but some pettie robberies by stealth, as opportunitie & occasion served. Howbeit they had much more difficult travailing down the hill, then in the climbing & getting up; for that most of the advenues to the Alpes from Italy side, as they be shorter, so they are more upright: for all the way in a manner was steepe, narrow, and slipperie, so as neither they could hold themselves from sliding, nor if any tripped and stumbled never so little, could they possibly (they staggered so) recover themselves and keep sure footing, but one fell upon another, as well horse as man. After this they came to a much narrower rocke, with crags & rags so steepe downeright, that hardly a nimble soldiour without his armour and baggage (do what he could to take hold with hands upon the twigs and plants that there about grew forth) was able to creep down. This place being before naturally of it selfe steepe & pendant with a downe-fall, now was choked & dammed up with a new fall of earth, which left a bank behind it of a wonderful and monstrous heigth. There the horsmen stood still as if they had been come to their waies end. And when Anniball merveiled much what the matter might be that staided them so, as they marched not on: word was brought him, that the Rock was unaccessible & unpassable. Wherupon, he went himself in person to view the place, & then he saw indeed without all doubt, that although he had fetched a compasse about, yet he had gained nought thereby, but conducted his armie to passe through wilds & such places as before had never been beaten & troden. And verely that (of al other) was such as it was impossible to passe through. For, wher as there lay old snow untouched & not trodden on, and over it other snow newly fallen, of a smal depth; in this soft & tender snow, & the same not verie deep, their feet as they went easely tooke hold: but that snow, being once with the gate of so many

people & beasts upon it, fretted and thawed, they were faine to go upon the bare yce underneath, and in the slabberie snow-broth, as it relented and melted about their heeles. There they had foule adoe and much strugling, for that they could not tread sure upon the slipperie yce: and againe, going as they did (downe hill) their feet sooner failed them: and when they had helped themselves once in getting up, either with hands or knees; if they chanced to fal again, when those their props and staies deceived them, there were no twigs nor rootes about, whereon a man might take hold, and rest or stay himselfe, either by hand or foot. And therefore all that the poore garrons and beasts could doe was to tumble and wallow only upon the slipperie and glas-sie yce and the molten slabbie snow. Otherwhiles also they perished as they went in the deepe snow, whiles it was yet soft and tender: for when they were once slidden and fallen, with flinging out their heeles, and beating with their hooves more forcibly for to take hold, they brake the yce through; so as most of them, as if they had ben caught fast and fettered, stucke still in the deepe, hard frozen, & congealed yce. At last, when as both man & beast were wried and overtoiled, and all to no purpose, they encamped upon the top of an hill, having with very much ado clensed the place aforehand for that purpose: such a deale of snow there was to be digged, faied, and thrown out. This done, the souldiors were brought to breake that rocke, through which was their onely waie: and against the time that it was to be hewed through, they felled & overthrew many huge trees that grew there about, and made a mightie heape and pile of wood: the wind served fitly for the time to kindle a fire, & then they set all a burning. Now when the rock was on fire and red hot, they powred thereon strong vinegar for to calcine & dissolve it. When as the rock was thus baked (as it were) with fire, they digged into it, and opened it with pickeaxes, and made the descent gentle and easie, by meanes of moderate windings and turnings: so as not onely the horses and other beasts, but even the elephants also might be able to go downe. Foure daies he spent about the leveling of this rock: & the beasts were almost pined and lost for hunger. For the hill tops for the most part are bare of grasse; and looke what fog and forage there was, the snow overhilled it. The dales and lower grounds have some little banks lying to the

sunne, and rivers withall, neere unto the woods, yea and places more meet and beseeming for men to inhabite. There were the labouring beasts put out to grasse & pasture, and the soldiors that were wearied with making the waies had three daies allowed to rest in. From thence they went downe into the plaine countrie, where they found both the place more easie and pleasant, and the natures of the inhabitants more tractable.

THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD

Commonly called,

THE NATURALL HISTORIE OF C. PLINIUS SECUNDUS

Translated into English by

PHILEMON HOLLAND

Anno 1601

*SALVE, parens rerum omnium Natura teque
nobis Quiritum solis celebratum esse
numeris omnibus tuis fave.*

PLINY THE ELDER.

P L I N Y

Of Dolphins.

THE Dolphin is a creature that carrieth a loving affection not only unto man, but also to musicke: delighted he is with harmonie in song, but especially with the sound of the water instrument, or such kind of pipes. Of a man he is nothing affraid, neither avoideth from him as a stranger; but of himselfe meeteth their ships, plaieth and disporteth himselfe, and fetcheth a thousand friskes and gambols before them. Hee will swimme along by the marriners, as it were for a wager, who should make way most speedily, and alwaies out-goeth them, saile they with never so good a fore-wind. In the daies of Augustus Caesar the Emperour, there was a Dolphin entred the gulfe or poole Lucrinus, which loved wonderous well a certain boy, a poore mans sonne: who using to go every day to schoole from Baianum to Puteoli, was woont also about noone-tide to stay at the water side, and to call unto the Dolphin, Simo, Simo, and many times would give him fragments of bread, which of purpose hee ever brought with him, and by this meane allured the Dolphin to come ordinarily unto him at his call. (I would make scruple and bash to insert this tale in my storie and to tell it out, but that Mecaenas Fabianus, Flavius Alfius, and many others have set it downe for a truth in their Chronicles.) Well, in processe of time, at what houre soever of the day, this boy lured for him and called Simo, were the Dolphin never so close hidden in any secret and blind corner, out he would and come abroad, yea and skud amaine to this lad; and taking bread and other vituals at his hand, would gently offer him his backe to mount upon, and then downe went the sharpe pointed prickles of his finnes, which he would put up as it were within a sheath for fear of hurting the boy. Thus when he had him once on his back, he would carrie him over the broad arme of the sea as farre as Puteoli to schoole; and in like manner convey him backe againe home: and thus he continued for many yeeres together, so long as the child lived. But when the boy was false sicke and dead, yet the Dolphin gave not over his haunt, but usually came to the

woonted place, and missing the lad, seemed to be heaue and mourne again, untill for verie grieffe and sorrow (as it is doubtles to be presumed) he also was found dead upon the shore.

Of the Phoenix.

THE birds of Aethyopia and India, are for the most part of diuerse colours, and such as a man is hardly able to decipher and describe. But the Phoenix of Arabia passeth all others. Howbeit, I cannot tell what to make of him: and first of all, whether it be a tale or no, that there is never but one of them in the whole world, and the same not commonly seen. By report he is as big as an Aegle: for colour, as yellow and bright as gold; (namely, all about the neck:) the rest of the bodie a deepe red purple: the taile azure blew, intermingled with feathers among, of rose coration colour: and the head bravely adorned with a crest and pennache finely wrought; having a tuft and plume thereupon, right faire and goodly to be seene. Manilius, the noble Roman Senatour, right excellently well seene in the best kind of learning and litterature, and yet never taught by any, was the first man of the long Robe, who wrote of this bird at large, and most exquisitely. Hee reporteth, that never man was knowne to see him feeding: that in Arabia hee is held a sacred bird, dedicated unto the Sunne: that hee liveth 660 years: and when hee groweth old and begins to decay, he builds himselfe a nest with the twigs and branches of the Canell or Cinamon, and Frankincense trees: and when he hath filled it with all sort of sweet Aromaticall spices, yeeldeth up his life thereupon. He saith moreover, that of his bones and marrow there breedeth at first as it were a little worme: which afterwards proveth to bee a pretie bird. And the first thing that this yong new Phoenix [*sic*] doth, is to performe the obsequies of the former Phoenix late deceased: to translate and carie away his whole nest into the citie of the Sunne neere Panchaea, and to bestow it full devoutly there upon the altar.

Of Clouds.

As touching clouds, if you see the racke ride apace in the aire, the weather beeing faire and drie, looke for wind from that quarter whence those clouds do come, and if they seeme to gather

thicke in that place, dispersed they will bee and scattered when the Sun approacheth: but more particularly, if this happen from the Northeast, they portend raine; if from the South, storme and tempest: if at the Suns setting the racke seeme to ride from both sides of him into the open aire, they shew of tempests toward: if the clouds be exceeding black, flying out of the East, they threaten raine against night; but if they come out of the West, it will surely raine the morrow after: if the clouds be disparkled many together out of the East, and flie like fleeces or flockes of wooll, they shew raine for three daies after: when clouds flie low, and seeme to settle upon the tops of the hills, looke shortly for cold weather: contrariwise, if you perceive those tops of mountaines cleare without mist or cloud, the weather will soon take up and turn to be faire: when the clouds seeme to be heavily charged and full, and yet looke white withall (which constitution of the aire is called commonly the white weather) there is an haile-storme at hand: moreover, bee the skie never so cleare, the least cloud appearing therein, is enough to engender and foreshew wind and storme: mists if they come downe and fall from the mountaines, or otherwise descend from heaven and settle upon the vallies, promise a faire and drie season.

Of Amarantus.

HOWBEIT, doe what we can, for all our skill and industrie wee must give place without all doubt to the purple floure-gentle, for we cannot reach possibly to the colour thereof. Now to say a truth, a purple Spike rather this is than a floure, and the same altogether without any smell. Of a straunge and wonderfull nature this is: it loves of all things to be cropped, and the more it is plucked, the better it commeth againe: it beginneth to spike or put out the floure in the month of August, and continueth untill Autumne. The best is that of Alexandria, for after it is gathered, it will keepe the fresh and lively colour still. This marvelous propertie it hath by it selfe. That when all other floures doe faile and are gone, if it be wet in water it looketh fresh againe; and for want of others, serves all winter long to make chaplets and guirlands. The chiefe and principall vertue that it hath, is shewed in the very name *Amaranthus*, for so it is called in Greeke, because it never doth fade or wither.

Of Cocks.

WE find in record among our Annales, that within the territorie of Ariminum, in that yeare when Marcus Lepidus and Quintus Catulus were Consuls, there was a dunghill-cocke did speake: and it was about a ferme-house in the countrey belonging unto one Galerius. But this happened never but once, for ought that I could ever heare or learne.

THE HISTORIES OF TACITUS

Translated into English

by

SIR HENRY SAVILE

Anno 1591

HERE is a glorious sunshiny day: all the morning I read about Nero in Tacitus lying at full length on a bench in the garden: a nightingale singing, and some red anemones eyeing the sun manfully not far off. A funny mixture all this: Nero, and the delicacy of the Spring: all very human however.

EDWARD FITZGERALD to JOHN ALLEN.
28th April 1839.

THE HISTORIES OF TACITUS

ON the other side, the *Vitellian* army, whose best course doubtlesse had bene to have taken some rest at *Cremona* and refreshed themselves with foode and sleepe, and so the next day to have given the onset upon their enemies, starved with hunger and colde, for lacke of a leader and want of direction, about the third hower of the night dashed themselves upon the *Flavian* army, who stooode now in array strongly prepared to receave them. The order and standing of the *Vitellian* army I dare not for certain avouch, being doubtlesse disordered through anger and darknes. Some affirme that the fourth Legion called *Macedonica* stooode in the right wing: the fift & fifteenth Legions, with certaine companies out of three British Legions, the ninth, second & twentieth filled up the middle battell; the left wing consisting of the tenth Legion, the two and twentieth and the first: the soldiers of *Rapax* and *Italica* dispersed themselves thorow out all: the horsemen and Aides chose their owne standing. The fight continued al night very doubtful & cruel, with great mortality sometime on the one side, & sometime on the other: courage or strength availed little in the darke, where the eie could not discerne a frende from an enemy. On both sides was the same kind of armour & weapons: by many mutuall questions ech knew others watchword: the banners also were mingled together, as it hapned a bande to take any from the enemy and cary them to and fro. The seventh Legion lately levied by *Galba* was pressed most hardly: six of her principal Centurions were slaine, and some enseignes taken away, the stander it selfe was hardly defended by *Attilius Verus* the chiefe Centurion; who with great slaughter of the enemy, and his owne death in the end, notwithstanding saved his charge. The *Flavianists* thus going to the worse, *Antonius* reinforced & strengthened the battell by sending for the Praetorian soldiers, who as-soone as they undertooke the fight repulsed the enemy at the first, and anone were repulsed themselves. For the *Vitellianists* had brought their engins of warre, which before were dispersed and discharged against bushes and trees, without anie hurt to the enemy, and placéd them upon the cawsey of the high way to have an open passage and free scope to shoote out; among the rest a

Balista of a woonderfull greatnesse, belonging to the sixteenth Legion, shooting out huge and mighty stones galled them sore, and had made a farre greater havocke amongst them, had not two souldiers undertaken an honourable exploite, and taking up targets among the deade bodies gone unknowen, and cut the cords and waightes of the engine: whereupon they were by and by cut in pieces, and so their names are not knowen; of the fact there is no question. Nowe the battaile continued doubtfull, and fortune indifferent to both sides, till at farre in the night the moone rose and discovered the armies, though in deceitfull sort, and more in favour of the *Flavian* side, because she was at their backes: by meanes whereof both shadowes of the men and horses stretched along toward the enemies, and so the arrowes and dartes of the Vitellianists, being falsely bestowed upon shadowes, fell short of the bodies; whereas contrarily by reason of the moone shining against them, the *Vitellian* souldiers were easily hit unawares with the blowes of the other, discharging as it were out of covert. *Antonius* assoone as he could discerne his owne company, and be likewise discerned of them, beganne to inflame them severally, some with shame and rebuke, others with praise and encouragements, all with hope and large promises; demanning of the *Pannonian* Legions for what purpose they had nowe resumed armes? if to wipe away the blot of their late ignominie, here was the felde where they might reintegrate themselves in their honour againe. Then turning to the *Moesian* souldiers, he challenged them as authors and beginners of the warre, adding that in vaine they had dared the *Vitellianists* with wordes and threats, if now they durst not abide their handes and lookes. And after this and the like sort he spake to all whom hee met: but most at large to those of the third Legion, putting them in remembrance both of their late and ancient victories; how under the conduct of *Marcus Antonius* they had overthrowen the *Parthians*, under *Carbulo* the *Armenians*, and of late the *Sarmatians*, then directing his speech to the Praetorians in great anger: As for you disgraded souldiers (quoth hee) if you winne not here, what other generall, or what other camp shall receive you? Yonder loe, there be your enseignes and weapons, and present death if you leese, for you have spent already your shame. Great crying and noise there was on every side, when as the third Legion, as the maner in *Syria* is, with a great showte saluted the sunne rising:

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS

Translated into English

by

RICHARD GRENEWAY

Anno 1598

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS

Drusus quells a rebellion.

WHEN *Tiberius* had intelligence of these mutinies; although he were close, and a great dissembler of bad tidings; resolved to send his son *Drusus* unto these legions, with certaine of the principallest Gentlemen of the citie, and two Pretorian bands; without any limited commission, but to determine there, as occasion best required. These bands were of extraordinary choise men, and stronger then any other were used to be, and a great part of his gard of horsemen, and the ablest Germans of his owne gard. *Aelius Seianus* also Captaine of the gard was sent with him, once an associate and companion to *Strabo* his father, and a man highly in credit with *Tiberius*; as well to be a guide to the yong Prince, as to shew unto others the danger or reward of ill or well doing. When *Drusus* was come neere unto them, the legions met him as it were to do their dutie; but not as the manner was, cheerefully with glittering ensignes, but in base and abiect habit; and in countenance although pretending sadnes, yet in deede were neerer wilfull obstinacie. After he was entered the trench of the camp, they set a strong gard at the gates, commanded some troupes to attend at certain places of the camp, and the rest came and environed the Tribunall in huge multitudes. *Drusus* stode up, and with his hand commanded silence to be made. When the souldiers beheld what a multitude they were, they made a dreadfull noise with hideous tunes; then anon turning their eyes towards *Caesar*, they quaked for feare: after that, they made a confuse murmuring and buzzing; then a cruell outcry; and on a suddaine all was husht againe; which bred as men were diversely affected, either a feare in themselves, or in others. At last the tumult ceasing, he read his fathers letters, which contained what a speciall care he had over those most valorous legions, with whome he had sustained many battels; and that as soone as his minde could be at rest, and the mourning for his father past, he would deale with the Lords of the Senate concerning their demaunds: that in the meane space he had sent his sonne which should graunt without delay, as much as for the

present could conveniently be yeilded: and that the rest should be reserved to the consideration of the Senate, whom it was convenient should iudge as well what deserved favour as rigor and severitie. They answered all in generall, that *Clemens* the Centurion had charge to propound their demaunds: he began with licence to depart after sixteene yeares, with recompence after the end of their service: and that their wages might be a denarius a day; that the old souldiers should not be constrained to continue under ensignes. But when *Drusus* began to pretend, that these were fit matters to be referred to the Lords of the Senate, and his fathers consideration; they cut off his speech with clamors, expostulating: 'That seeing he had no authority to augment their pay; nor ease them of their labor; nor benefit them any way; to what purpose was he come thither? But to beate and put them to death, every man had authoritie. It was an old trick of *Tiberius* to frustrate the legions desires, with the name of *Augustus*; and *Drusus* doth now put the same in practice. Shall they never have any sent them, but such as are under the power of another? It was strange, that the Emperour should referre only that to the knowledge of the Senate, which concerned the souldiers commoditie. It was as requisite the Senators advise should be knowne, when a souldier should be punished, or brought to fight in battell. Did it stand with reason, there should be maisters appointed, to dispose of their rewards and recompence; and that without any iudge their punishments should be arbitrary?' At last they go from the Tribunal, and threaten with their fists those they met, of the gard, or *Caesars* friends and familiars, as desirous to pick quarrels, and raise sedition. But they bare a speciaall grudge unto *Cn. Lentulus*, because that he, for his yeares, and experience in martially feates, in greater reputation than the rest; was thought to animate *Drusus* against the souldiers, and first of all reiect their licentious demands. Whom not long after (foreseeing the danger he was in) going with *Caesar* to the standing camp, they environed him, asking whither he went? towards the Emperour, or towards the Senate? whether there he would be also against the legions profit? And withall comming fiercely upon him, and throwing stones at him, all embrued in bloud, and certaine of present death, yet was succoured by such as came with *Caesar*. That night, which menaced great disorder, and outrageous behaviour, was quieted by a meere chaunce. For the Skie being

cleere and bright, yet the Moone seemed to be eclipsed on a sudden; which the souldiers, being ignorant of the cause, construed as a presage of present ill lucke: and comparing their attempts, to the eclipse, were of opinion that their successe should be prosperous, if the goddesse should become cleere and bright againe. Whereupon they began with Trompets, Cornets, and other brazen instruments, to make a lowd noise, now ioyfull, now sad, as the Moone appeared either cleere or darke. But when the black clowdes, rising, tooke from them the sight of the Moone, supposing she had bene hidden in darknes, and utterly lost her light: as troubled minds fall easily into superstition, they began to complaine and lament, that, that portended their labours should have no end; and that the gods turned their faces from their wickednes. *Caesar* thinking it expedient to make his profit of their feare; and govern that by wisdom, which fortune had offered; commannded the Pavillions to be viewed; *Clemens* the Centurion to be called, and such others, as for their laudable vertues were best liked of the common sort: who thrusting themselves into the watch, the wardes, and gate-keepers, increased sometimes their feare, and sometimes promised hope, saying: 'How long shall we besiege the Emperors sonne? what shall be the end of our revolt? shall we sweare allegiance to *Percennius* and *Vibulenus*? shall we looke for our pay at their hands? shall they reward the old souldiers with lands? to be briefe, shall they take upon them the governement of the Romane Empire, in *Nerues* and *Drusus* stead? were it not better that as we were the last which offended; so we should be the first to repent? Demaunds in common are slowly graunted: a privat favour is no sooner deserved, then obtained.' These speeches troubled their mindes, and bred a mistrust among themselves: the yong souldiers forsooke the old: and one legion parted from an other. By little and little they returned to their allegiance: went from the gates which before they possessed; carried to their usual places the ensignes, which in the beginning of their rebellion they had pitched together.

S U E T O N I U S
HISTORY OF TWELVE CAESARS
Translated into English by
PHILEMON HOLLAND
Anno 1606

MINE too, *Blakesmoor*, was thy noble *Marble Hall*, with its mosaic pavements, and its *Twelve Caesars*—stately busts in marble—ranged round: of whose countenances, young reader of faces as I was, the frowning beauty of *Nero*, I remember, had most of my wonder; but the mild *Galba* had my love. There they stood in the coldness of death, yet freshness of immortality.

CHARLES LAMB.

Blakesmoor in H---shire.

S U E T O N I U S

T W E L V E C A E S A R S

Octavius Caesar Augustus.

HOW slenderly provided he was of houshold stuffe and furniture otherwise appeareth by his dining pallets and tables yet remaining: the most part whereof be scarce answerable to the elegancie of a meere private person. Neither slept he by mens saying otherwise than upon a low-bed, and the same but meanely spread and laid with Coverlets. He wore not lightly any apparell but of huswifes cloth, made within house; by his wife, his sister, his daughter and neipces. His gownes were neither streight and skant, nor yet wide and large. His Senatours robe neither with overbroad studs of purple guarded, nor with narrow. His shoes underlaide somewhat with the highest, that hee might seeme taller than hee was. As for the raiment which hee used abroade, and his shooes, hee had them at all times layed readie within his Bedchamber, against all suddaine occurrents and unlooked for occasions whatsoever.

THE name and title of Lord he alwaies abhorred as a contumelious and reproachfull terme. When upon a time, as he beheld the plaies, these words were pronounced out of a Comoedie, O good and gracious Lord: whereupon the whole assembly with great joy and applause accorded thereto, as if they had beene spoken of him: immediatly both with gesture of hand and shew of countenance, he repressed such undecent flatteries: and the next day reproved them most sharply by an edict: neither would hee ever after suffer himselfe to be called *Dominus*, no not of his owne children and nephewes either in earnest or boord. And that which more is, such faire and glavering wordes hee forbad them to use among themselves. Lightly, you should not have him depart forth of the City or any Towne, nor enter into any place, but in the evening, or by night: for disquieting any person in doing him honour by way of dutifull attendance. In his Consulship hee went commonly in the streetes on foote: out of his Consulship oftentimes in a close chaire or licter. In generall Salutations and duties done unto him he admitted the very Com-

mons, entertaining the suites and desires of all commers with so great humanity as that he rebuked one of them merily, because in reaching unto him a supplication, he did it so timorously, as if hee had raught a small peece of coine to an Oliphant. On a Senate-day, he never saluted his Nobles but in the *curia*: and those verily as they sat, every one by name without any prompter: and at his departure out of the house, he used to bid them farewell one by one as they were set, in the same manner. With many men he performed mutuall offices yeelding one kindnes for another interchangeably. Neither gave he over frequenting their solemnities and feasts untill he was farre stept in yeeres: and by this occasion, that once upon a day of Espousals he was in the presse and throng of people sore crouded.

AFTER his noones repast hee used to take his repose, and to sleepe a while, in his cloathes as he was, with his shooes on, stretching out his feete, and holding his hand before his eyes. After supper hee retired himselfe into a little Closet or Studie. And there continued hee by a candle farre in the night, even untill he had dispatched the rest of that daies businesse, either all or the most part. From thence, he went directly to his bed: where, hee slept at the most not above seaven houres: and those verily not together but so, as in that space of time hee would awake three or foure times: and if hee could not recover his sleepe thus broken and interrupted (as it happened otherwhiles), hee would send for some to reade or tell tales: and by their meanes catch a sleepe againe, and drawe the same out often after day-breake. Neither would he ever lie awake without one sitting by his beds side. Much offended hee was with want of sleepe (or waking) early in a morning: and if hee were to bee awakened sooner than ordinarie, either about some worldly affaires of his friends, or service of the Gōds, because hee would not prejudice thereby his owne good or health, hee used to stay in some of his familiar friends upper roomes and loft, next to the place where his occasions lay. And even so, many a time for want of sleepe, both as he was caried through the streetes, and also when his lictor was set downe, hee would betweene whiles take a nap and make some stay.

HEE was of an excellent presence and personage, and the same throughout all the degrees of his age most lovely and amiable;

negligent though hee were in all manner of pikednesse, for combing and trimming of his head so carelesse, as that he would use at once many Barbers, such as came next hand, it skilled not whom: and one while hee clipped, another while hee shaved his beard; and yet at the very same time, he either read, or else wrote somewhat. His visage and countenance, whether he spake or held his peace, was so mild, so pleasant and lightsome, that one of the Nobles and Potentates of Gaule, confessed unto his Country-men, he was thereby onely staid and reclaimed, that he did not approach neere unto him, under colour of conference as hee passed over the Alpes, and so shove him downe from a steepe cragge to breake his necke, as his full intent was. Hee had a paire of cleere and shining eyes: wherein also, (as hee would have made men beleieve) was seated a kinde of Divine vigour: and hee joyed much, if a man looking wistly upon him helde downe his face, as it were against the brightnesse of the Sunne. But in his olde age he saw not very well with the left eye. His teeth grewe thinne in his head, and the same were small and ragged: the haire of his head was somewhat curled and turning downeward: and withall of a light yellowe colour. His eye-browes met together: his eares were of a meane bignesse: his nose both in the upper part, bearing out round, and also beneath somewhat with the longest. Of colour and complexion, hee was betweene a browne and faire white. His stature but short: (and yet Julius Marathus his freed-man writeth in the Historie of his life, that hee was five foote and nine inches high). But as lowe as the same was, the proportionable making and feature of his limmes hid it so, as it might not be perceived, unlesse he were compared with some taller person than himselfe standing by.

Caius Caesar Caligula.

IN riotous and wastfull expense, he outwent the wits and inventions of all the prodigal spendthrifts that ever were; as having devised a new found manner and use of baines, together with most strange and monstrous kinds of meat and meales: namely, to bath with hote and cold ointments: to drinke off and quaffe most pretious and costly pearles dissolved in vinegar: to set upon the bourd at feastes loaves of bread and other viands to them before his guests, all of golde, saying commonly withall, That a

man must either be frugall or els Caesar. Moreover for certaine dayes together, he flung and scattered among the common people from the Louver of the stately Hall Julia, mony in peeces of no meane valew. He built moreover tall galliasses of ceder timber, with poupes and sternes beset with precious stones, carying sailes of sundrie colours, conteining in them baines, large galleries, walking places, and dining chambers of great receipt: with vines also and trees bearing apples and other fruit in as much varietie: wherein he would sit feasting in the very day time among quires of musicians and melodious singers, and so saile along the costs of Campania. In building of stately Pallaces and mannor houses in the countrey he cast aside all rules and orders as one desirous to do nothing so much as that which was thought impossible to be done. And therfore he laid foundations of piles where the sea was most raging and deep withal, and hewed rocks of most hard flint and rag: plains also he raised even with mountaines and by digging down hill tops levelled them equall with the plaines: all with incredible celeritie: as punishing those who wrought but slowly even with death. In summ, (and not to reckon up everie thing in particular) that infinite wealth and masse of Treasure which Tiberius Caesar left behind him valued at 2700 millions of Sesterces, hee consumed to nothing, before one whole yeare was gone about.

As for his apparrell, his shooes and other habits, hee wore them neither after his owne Country-guise, nor in a civile fashion, no nor so much as in manlike manner, nor yet alwaies, I may tell you, sorting with the state and condition of a mortall wight. Beeing clad oftentimes in cloakes of needleworke and embroidered with divers colours, and the same set out with pretious stones: in a coate also with long sleeves: and wearing bracelets withall, hee would come abroade into the Citie. Sometimes you should see him in his silkes, and veiled all over in a loose mantle of fine Sendall with a traine: one while going in Greekish slippers, or else in buskins: otherwhiles in a simple paire of broges or high shooes, such as common Souldiours employed in espiall used. Now and then also was he seene shod with womens pumps. But for the most part he shewed himselfe abroade with a golden beard carying in his hand either a thunderbolt or a three-tined mace, or else a warder or rod called Caduceus (the ensignes all and ornaments

of the Gods) yea and in the attire and array of Venus. Now, for his triumphall robes and ensignes hee used verily to weare and beare them continually, even before any warlike expedition: and sometime the cuirace withall of K. Alexander the great, fetcht out of his Sepulcher and monument.

Tiberius Claudius Drusus Caesar.

HAVING passed the greatest part of his time in running thorough these and such like troubles, at length in the fiftieth yeere of age, hee attained to the Empire, and that by a strange and wonderfull hap. Being among others excluded by the Conspiratours that layed waite for Caius life, what time they voided all the Companie about his person, under a colour as if he desired to be a part himselfe alone in some by-place, this Claudius had stept aside and retired into a lodging or parlour called Hermeum: and not long after, being affrighted at the rumour of that murder, sliely crept forth and conveied himselfe up into a Solar next adjoining, and there hid himselfe betweene the hangings that hung before the dore. Whiles hee lurked close there, a common Souldiour chauncing to runne too and fro that way, espied his feete, and by earnest enquirie and asking who he was, hapned to take knowledge of him: who having drawne him forth of the place (when as for feare hee fell downe humbly at his feete and tooke hold of his knees) saluted him by the name of Emperour. From thence he brought him immediatly to his other fellow Souldiours who as yet stooode wavering and wist not what to doe but fare and fume. By them was he bestowed in a Lictor: and for that his owne servants were fled scattering heere and there they also by turnes one after another supported the said Lictor upon their shoulders: and so was he brought into the (Praetorian) Camp, all sad and amazed for feare. . . .

IN his youth, he attempted to write an Historie, exhorted thereto by Titus Livius; and having the help besides of Sulpitius Flavius. And when he put the same first to the triall and judgement of men in a frequent auditorie, hardlie and with much a-do he read it through, being often in the while coldly heard, by an occasion that himselfe gave. For, when, (as hee began his reading) there was set up a laughter, by reason that many of the seates brake

with the weight of a certeine corpulent and fat swad, he was not able to hold, no not after the tumult appeased, but eftsoones ever and anon call to minde that accident and fall afresh to unmeasurable laughing. During his Empire likewise, hee both wrote much and also rehearsed the same continually by his reader. The beginning of his foresayd historie he tooke from the time presently ensuing the murder of Caesar Dictator: but hee passed over to the latter dayes: and began againe at the civill pacification: perceiving that it was not left in his power and libertie to write of the occurrents in those former times, as who was often checked both by his mother and also by his grandame. Of the former argument he left behinde him two volumes, of the later, fortie-one. Hee compiled of his owne life eight bookes: a report not so wisely and discreetly put downe, as otherwise elegantly penned: Item, an Apologie or defense of Cicero against the bookes of Asinius Gallus: a peece of worke full enough of learning. He devised moreover three new characters or letters in the (Latine) Alphabet, and put them to the number of the olde as most necessarie. And having published whiles he was yet a private person, concerning the reason of those letters, one booke: soone after beeing Emperour he easily effected that they should be brought into use also indifferently with the rest. And verely such manner of writing with those characters is now extant to be seene in many bookes of records in Journels, and titles or inscriptions of works.

Nero Claudius Caesar.

HIS unruly wildnesse, unbridled lust, wastfull riotousnesse, avarice and cruelty, he practised verely at first, by leasure closely, as the trickes of youthfull folly: yet so, as even then no man might doubt, that they were the inbred vices of nature, and not the errors of young age. No sooner was it twi-light and the evening shut in but presently he would catch up a cap on his head, and so disguised, goe into tavernes and victualling houses: walke the streetes playing and sporting all the way, but yet not without shrewd turnes and dooing mischief. For he used to fall upon those that came late from supper and knocke them soundly: yea and (if they struggled with him and made resistance,) to wound and drowne them in the sinkes and towne ditches: to breake into

petie shops also, and rifle them: for he had set up in his house at home a faire, there to receive the price of the bootie, which hee had gotten, and was to bee solde to who would give most and bid best therefore. But many a time at such brawles and skufflings aforesaied, he endangered his eyes, yea and his life too; being once beaten well neere to death by a certaine young gentleman of Senatours degree, whose wife he had misused with uncleane handling. Whereupon, never after durst he goe abroad into the streets at that houre of the night, without his militarie Tribunes following after him aloofe and secretly. In the day time also, bee- ing caried close in a chaire into the Theatre, hee would be present in person, and from the upper part of the *Proscoenium* both give a signall to the seditious factions of players (setting them together by the eares) and also behold them how they bickered. Now when they were come once to plaine fight, skirmishing with stones and fragments of broken seates, skaffolds, himselfe stucke not to fling apace at the people, in so much as once he brake the pretours head.

Nero's golden aedifice.

IN NO one thing was hee more wastefull and prodigall then in building. Hee made an house, that reached from the *Palatium* to the *Esquilhoe*: which at first he called his Transitorie: but when it had been consumed with fire and was reedefied hee named his golden aedifice. As touching the large compasse and receipt, the rich furniture and setting out whereof, it may suffice to relate thus much. The porch was of such an heigth as therein might stand upright the geantlike image representing his owne person, an hundred and twentie foote high. So large was this house, as that it contained three galleries of a mile a peece in length. Item, a standing poole like unto a sea, and the same enclosed round about with buildings in forme of Cities. It received moreover graunges with cornefields, vineyards, pastures and woodes to them stored with a multitude of divers and sundry beasts both tame and wilde of all sorts. In all other parts thereof, all was laide over with golde, garnished with precious stones and shels of pearle. As for the parlours, framed they were with enbowed roufs, seeled with pannils of Ivorie, devised to turne round and remove so as flours might be skattered from thence: with a de-

vise also of pipes and spouts to cast and sprinkle sweet oyles from aloft. But of al these parlours and banqueting roomes, the principall and fairest was made rounde, to turne about continually both day and night, in manner of the World. The banes within this house flowed with salte water derived from the sea, and with fresh from the rivers Albulae. This aedifice finished after such a fashion as this, when he dedicated, thus farre forth onely he liked, as that hee sayd, He now at length began to dwell like a man. Furthermore, hee began a poole reaching from Misenum to the Meere Avernus, covered all above head, enclosed and environed with Cloistures: into which all the hote waters that were in the Bathes of Baiæ might bee conveied. Likewise he cast a fosse from the sayde Avernus, as farre as to Ostia, and the same navigable: that men forsooth might saile in ships, and yet not be upon the sea. This caried in length 160 miles, and bare that breadth, as gallies with 5 ranks of oares might passe to and fro thereupon. For the performing of these workes, he had given commandement, that all prisoners wheresoever should be transported into Italie: and that no person attaint and convict of anie wicked act, should be condemned otherwise, but to worke thereat.

THE GOLDEN ASS OF
APULEIUS

Translated out of Latin by

WILLIAM ADLINGTON

Anno 1566

*MAY not the meaning of this worke be altered and turned in this sort:
A man desirous to apply his minde to some excellent art, or given to the
study of any of the sciences, at the first appeareth to himselfe an asse
without wit, without knowledge, and not much unlike a brute beast,
till such time as by much paine and travell he hath atchieved to the
perfectnesse of the same, and tasting the sweete floure and fruit of his
studies, doth thinke himself well brought to the right and very shape
of a man.*

WILLIAM ADLINGTON.

A P U L E I U S
T H E G O L D E N A S S E

How Apuleius thinking to eat Roses, was cruelly beaten by a Gardener, and chased by dogs.

WHEN noone was come, that the broyling heate of the sunne had most power, we turned into a village to certaine of the theeves acquaintance and friends, for verily their meeting and embracing together did give me, poore asse, cause to deeme the same, and they tooke the trusse from my backe, and gave them part of the Treasure which was in it, and they seemed to whisper and tell them that it was stollen goods, and after that we were unladen of our burthens, they let us loose into a medow to pasture, but myne own horse and Miloës Asse would not suffer me to feed there with them, but I must seeke my dinner in some other place.

Wherefore I leaped into a garden which was behinde the stable, and being well nigh perished with hunger, although I could finde nothing there but raw and green fallets, yet I filled my hungry guts therewithall abundantly, and praying unto all the gods, I looked about in every place if I could espy any red roses in the gardens by, and my solitary being alone did put me in good hope, that if I could find any remedy, I should presently of an Asse be changed into Lucius out of every mans sight. And while I considered these things, I looked about, and behold I saw a farre off a shadowed valley adjoyning nigh unto a wood, where amongst divers other hearbes and pleasant verdures, me thought I saw divers flourishing Roses of bright damaske colour; and said within my beastiall mind, Verily that place is the place of Venus and the Graces, where secretly glistereth the royall hew, of so lively and delectable a floure. Then I desiring the help of the guide of my good fortune, ranne lustily towards the wood, insomuch that I felt my self that I was no more an Asse, but a swift coursing horse: but my agility and quicknes could not prevent the cruelty of my fortune; for when I came to the place I perceived that they were no roses, neither tender nor pleasant, neither moystned with the heavenly drops of dew, nor celestiall liquor, which grew out of the thicket and thornes there. Neither

did I perceive that there was any valley at all, but onely the bank of the river, environed with great thick trees, which had long branches like unto lawrell and bearing a flour without any manner of sent, and the common people call them by the name of Lawrell roses, which be very poyson to all manner of beasts. Then was I so intangled with unhappy fortune that I little esteemed mine own danger, and went willingly to eat of those roses, though I knew them to be present poyson: and as I drew neere I saw a yong man that seemed to be the gardener, come upon mee, and when he perceived that I had devoured all the hearbs in his garden, he came swearing with a great staffe in his hand, and laid upon me in such sort, that I was well nigh dead, but I speedily devised some remedy my self, for I lift up my legs and kicked me with my hinder heels, that I left him lying at the hill foot wel nigh slain, and so I ran away.

Cupid and Psyche.

THUS poore Psyche being left alone, weeping and trembling on the toppe of the rocke, was blowne by the gentle aire and of shrilling Zephyrus, and caried from the hill with a meek winde, which retained her garments up, and by little and little brought her downe into a deepe valley, where she was laid in a bed of most sweet and fragrant flowers.

Thus faire Psyche beeing sweetly couched among the soft and tender hearbs, as in a bed of sweet and fragrant floures, and having qualified the thoughts and troubles of her restlesse minde, was now well reposed. And when she had refreshed her selfe sufficiently with sleepe, she rose with a more quiet and pacified minde, and fortun'd to espy a pleasant wood invironed with great and mighty trees. Shee espied likewise a running river as cleare as crystall: in the midst of the wood well nigh at the fall of the river was a princely Edifice, wrought and builded not by the art or hand of man, but by the mighty power of God: and you would judge at the first entry therin, that it were some pleasant and worthy mansion for the powers of heaven. For the embowings above were of Citron and Ivory, propped and undermined with pillars of gold, the walls covered and seeled with silver, divers sorts of beasts were graven and carved, that seemed to encounter with such as entered in. All things were so curiously and

finely wrought, that it seemed either to be the worke of some Demy god, or God himselfe. The pavement was all of pretious stones, divided and cut one from another, whereon was carved divers kindes of pictures, in such sort that blessed and thrice blessed were they which might goe upon such a pavement: Every part and angle of the house was so well adorned, that by reason of the pretious stones and inestimable treasure there, it glittered and shone in such sort, that the chambers, porches, and doores gave light as it had beene the Sunne. Neither otherwise did the other treasure of the house disagree unto so great a majesty, that verily it seemed in every point an heavenly Palace, fabricate and built for Jupiter himselfe.

IN the mean season, Cupid was closed fast in the surest chamber of the house, partly because he should not hurt himself with wanton dalliance, and partly because he should not speake with his love: so these two lovers were divided one from another. When night was passed Venus called Psyche, and said, Seest thou yonder Forest that extendeth out in length with the river? there be great sheepe shining like gold, and kept by no manner of person. I command thee that thou go thither and bring me home some of the wooll of their fleeces. Psyche arose willingly not to do her commandement, but to throw her selfe headlong into the water to end her sorrows. Then a green reed inspired by divine inspiration, with a gracious tune and melody gan say, O Psyche I pray thee not to trouble or pollute my water by the death of thee, and yet beware that thou goe not towards the terrible sheepe of this coast, untill such time as the heat of the sunne be past, for when the sunne is in his force, then seeme they most dreadfull and furious, with their sharpe hornes, their stony foreheads and their gaping throats, wherewith they arme themselves to the destruction of mankinde. But untill they have refreshed themselves in the river, thou maist hide thy selfe here by me, under this great plaine tree, and as soone as their great fury is past, thou maist goe among the thickets and bushes under the wood side and gather the lockes of their golden Fleeces, which thou shalt finde hanging upon the briers. Then spake the gentle and benigne reed, shewing a mean to Psyche to save her life, which she bore well in memory, and with all diligence went and gathered up such lockes as shee found, and put them in her

apron, and carried them home to Venus. Howbeit the danger of this second labour did not please her, nor give her sufficient witness of the good service of Psyche, but with a sower resemblance of laughter, did say: Of a certaine I know that this is not thy fact, but I will prove if that thou bee of so stout, so good a courage, and singular prudency as thou seemest to bee.

How Apuleius by Roses and prayer returned to his humane shape.

WHEN midnight came that I had slept my first sleepe, I awaked with suddaine feare, and saw the Moone shining bright, as when shee is at the full, and seeming as though she leaped out of the Sea. Then thought I with my selfe, that that was the most secret time, when the goddesse Ceres had most puissance and force, considering that all humane things be governed by her providence: and not onely all beasts private and tame, but also all wild and savage beasts be under her protection. And considering that all bodies in the heavens, the earth and the seas, be by her increasing motions increased, and by her diminishing motions diminished: as weary of all my cruell fortune and calamity, I found good hope and soveraigne remedy, though it were very late, to be delivered from all my misery, by invocation and prayer, to the excellent beauty of the Goddess, whom I saw shining before mine eyes, wherefore shaking off mine Assie and drowsie sleepe, I arose with a joyfull face, and mooved by a great affection to purifie my selfe, I plunged my selfe seven times into the water of the Sea, which number of seven is conveniable and agreeable to holy and divine things, as the worthy and sage Philosopher Pythagoras hath declared. Then with a weeping countenance, I made this Orison to the puissant Goddess, saying: O blessed Queene of heaven . . . Grant peace and rest if it please thee to my adversities, for I have endured too too much labour and perill. Remoove from me my shape of mine Asse, and render to me my pristine estate, and if I have offended in any point of divine Majesty, let me rather dye then live, for I am full weary of my life. When I had ended this orison, and discovered my complaints to the Goddess, I fortun'd to fall asleepe, and by and by appeared unto me a divine and venerable face, worshipped even of the Gods themselves. Then by little and little I seemed to see the whole figure of her body, mounting out of the sea and stand-

ing before mee, wherefore I purpose to describe her divine semblance, if the poverty of my humane speech will suffer me, or her divine power give me eloquence thereto. First, shee had a great abundance of haire, dispersed and scattered about her neck, on the crowne of her head she bare many garlands enterlaced with floures, in the middle of her forehead was a compass in fashion of a glasse, or resembling the light of the Moone, in one of her hands she bare serpents, in the other, blades of corne, her vestiment was of fine silke yeelding divers colours, sometime yellow, sometime rosie, sometime flamy, and sometime (which troubled my spirit sore) darke and obscure, covered with a blacke robe in manner of a shield, and pleated in most subtile fashion at the skirts of her garments, the welts appeared comely, whereas here and there the starres glimpsed, and in the middle of them was placed the Moone, which shone like a flame of fire, round about the robe was a coronet or garland made with flowres and fruits. In her right hand shee had a timbrell of brasse, which gave a pleasant sound, in her left hand shee bare a cup of gold, out of the mouth whereof the serpent Aspis lifted up his head, with a swelling throat, her odoriferous feete were covered with shoes interlaced and wrought with victorious palme. Thus the divine shape breathing out the pleasant spice of fertill Arabia, disdained not with her divine voyce to utter these words unto me: . . . Behold I am come to take pittie of thy fortune and tribulation, behold I am present to favour and ayd thee, leave off thy weeping and lamentation, put away all thy sorrow, for behold the healthfull day which is ordained by my providence, therefore be ready to attend to my commandement. This day which shall come after this night, is dedicated to my service, by an eternall religion, my Priests and Ministers doe accustome after the tempests of the Sea, be ceased, to offer in my name a new ship as a first fruit of my Navigation. I command thee not to prophane or despise the sacrifice in any wise, for the great Priest shall carry this day following in procession by my exhortation, a Garland of Roses, next the timbrell of his right hand: follow thou my procession amongst the people, and when thou comest to the Priest, make as though thou wouldest kisse his hand, but snatch at the Roses, whereby I will put away the skin and shape of an Asse, which kind of beast I have long time abhorred and despised, but above all things beware thou doubt not nor feare any of those things, as

hard and difficill to bee brought to passe, for in the same houre that I am come to thee, I have commanded the Priest by a vision what he shall doe, and all the people by my commandement shall be compelled to give thee place and say nothing.

WHEN the divine Image had spoken these words, she vanished away. By and by when I awaked, I arose, haveing the members of my bodie mixed with feare, joy and sweate, and marvailed at the cleare presence of the puissant goddesse, and being sprinkled with the water of the sea, I recounted orderly her admonitions and divine commandements. Soone after, the darknes chased away, and the cleare and golden sunne arose, whenas behold I saw the streets replenished with people going in a religious sort and in great triumph. All things seemed that day to be joyfull, as well all manner of beasts and houses, as also the very day it selfe seemed to rejoyce. For after the hore-frost, ensued the hot and temperat sun, whereby the little birds weening that the spring time had bin come, did chirp and sing in their steven melodiously: the mother of stars, the parent of times, and mistres of all the world: The fruitful trees rejoyced at their fertility: The barren and sterill were contented at their shadow, rendering sweete and pleasant shrills. The seas were quiet from winds and tempests: The heaven had chaced away the clouds, and appeared faire and cleare with his proper light. Behold then more and more appeared the poms and processions, attired in regall manner and singing joyfully: One was girded about the middle like a man of armes: Another bare and spare, and had a cloake and high-shooes like a hunter: another was attired in a robe of silke, and socks of gold, having his haire laid out, and dressed in forme of a woman. There was another ware legge-harnesse, and bare a target, a sallet, and a speare like a martial souldier: after him marched one attured in purple with vergers before him like a magistrate: after him followed one with a maurell, a staffe, a paire of pantofles, and with a gray beard, signifying a philosopher: after him went one with lime, betokening a fowler, another with hookes declaring a fisher: I saw there a meeke and tame beare, which in matron habite was carried on a stoole: An Ape with a bonet on his head, and covered with lawne, resemling a shepheard, and bearing a cup of gold in his hand: an Asse which had wings glewed to his backe, and went after an old man,

whereby you would judge the one to be Pegasus, and the other Bellephoron. Amongst the pleasures and popular delectations, which wandered hither and thither, you might see the pompe of the goddesse triumphantly march forward: The woman attired in white vestiments, and rejoycing, in that they bare garlands and flowres upon their heads, bespread the waies with hearbes, which they bare in their aprons, where this regall and devout procession should passe: Other caried glasses on their backes, to testifie obeysance to the goddess which came after. Other bare combes of Ivory, and declared by their gesture and motions of their armes, that they were ordained and readie to dresse the goddesse: Others dropped in the wayes as they went Balme and other pretious ointments: Then came a great number, as well of men as women, with candels, torches, and other lights, doing honour to the celestiall goddesse: After that sounded the musicall harmony of instruments: then came a faire companie of youth, apparelled in white vestiments, singing both meeter and verse, with a comely grace which some studious Poet had made in honour of the Muses: In the meane season, arrived the blowers of trumpets, which were dedicated unto Serapis, and to the temple before them were officers and bedles, preparing roome for the goddess to passe. Then came the great company of men and women, which had taken divine orders, whose garments glistered all the streets over. The women had their haire annointed and their heads covered with linnen: but the men had their crownes shaven, which were the terrene stars of the goddesse, holding in their hands instruments of brasse, silver and gold, which rendered a pleasant sound. The principall Priests which were apparelled with white surplesses hanging downe to the ground, bare the reliques of the puissant goddesse. One carried in his hand a light, not unlike to those which we used in our houses, saving that in the middle thereof appeared a bole which rendred a more bright flame. The second attired like the other, bare in his hand an Altar, which the goddesse her selfe named the succor of nations. The third held a tree of palme with leaves of gold, and the verge of Mercurie. The fourth shewed out a token of equitie by his left hand, which was deformed in every place, signifying theroby more equitie then by the right hand. The same Priest carried a round vessell of gold, in forme of a cap. The fift bare a van, wrought with springs of gold, and another carried

a vessell for wine: By and by after the goddesse followed a foot as men do, and specially Mercurie, the messenger of the goddesse infernall and supernall, with his face sometime blacke, sometime faire, lifting up the head of the dogges Annubis, and bearing in his left hand, his verge, and in his right hand, the branches of a palme tree, after whom followed a cow with an upright gate, representing the figure of the great goddesse, and he that guided her, marched on with much gravity. Another carried after the secrets of their religion, closed in a coffer. There was one that bare on his stomacke a figure of his god, not formed like any beast, bird, savage thing or humane shape, but made by a new invention, whereby was signified that such a religion should not be discovered or revealed to any person. There was a vessell wrought with a round bottome, haveing on the one side, pictures figured like unto the manner of the Egyptians, and on the other side was an eare, whereupon stoode the Serpent Aspis, holding out his scaly necke. Finally, came he which was apointed to my good fortun according to the promise of the goddesse. For the great Priest which bare the restoration of my human shape, by the commandement of the goddes, approached more and more, bearing in his left hand the timbrill, and in the other a garland of Roses to give me, to the end I might be delivered from cruel fortune, which was alwaies mine enemy, after the sufferance of so much calamitie and paine, and after the endurance of so manie perilles: Then I not returning hastily, by reason of sodaine joye, lest I should disturbe the quiet procession with mine importunitie, but going softly through the prease of the people, which gave me place on every side, went after the Priest. The priest being admonished the night before, as I might well perceive stood still and holding out his hand, thrust out the garland of roses into my mouth, I (trembling) devoured with a great affection: And as soone as I had eaten them, I was not deceived of the promise made unto me. For my deforme and Assie face abated, and first the rugged haire of my body fell off, my thick skin waxed soft and tender, the hoves of my feet changed into toes, my hands returned againe, my neck grew short, my head and mouth began round, my long eares were made little, my great and stonie teeth, waxed lesse like the teeth of men, and my tayle which combed me most, appeared no where: then the people began to marvaile, and the religious honoured the goddesse, for so evident a miracle.

they wondred at the visions which they saw in the night, and the facilitie of my reformation, whereby they rendered testimonie of so great a benefit which I received of the goddessse. When I saw my selfe in such estate, I stood still a good space and said nothing, for I could not tell what to say, nor what word I shoulde first speake, nor what thanks I should render to the goddessse, but the great Priest understanding all my fortune and miserie, by divine advertisement, commanded that one should give me garments to cover me.

Then I went amongst the company of the rest and followed the procession: everie one of the people knew me, and pointing at me with their fingers, said in this sort: Behold him who is this day transformed into a man by the puissance of the soveraigne goddessse, verily he is blessed and most blessed that hath merited so great grace from heaven, as by the innocencie of his former life, and as it were by a new regeneration is reserved to the obsequie of the goddessse.

THE HISTORY OF
COMMINES

Englished by

THOMAS DANETT

Anno 1596

IN AN age when all the world thinks itself qualified to deal with politics, it would not be ill to observe in Comynes what are the requisite qualities in those whom nature has destined for that rare science.

SAINTE-BEUVE, *Causeries du Lundi*,
January 7th, 1850.

PHILIP DE COMMINES

How truce for nine yeeres was treated of betweene the Kings of Fraunce and England, notwithstanding all the lets and impediments that the Constable and the Duke of Burgundie made.

THE Commissioners of both the Princes met (as you have heard) the next day after our heraults returne, for we lay within fower leagues or lesse together. The said herault was well cheered, and had his office in the Ile of Ré where he was borne, and the sum of money that was promised him. Many conditions of peace were treated of betweene our Commissioners. The English men after their woonted maner, first demanded the Crowne, at the least Normandie and Guienne, but they were no more earnestly demanded than stoutly denied. Notwithstanding even at this first meeting the treatie was brought to a reasonable point: for both the parties desired peace: whereupon our ambassadors returned to the King, and the others to their campe. The King heard the English mens demands and last resolutions, which were these: That he should pay to the King of England presently before his departure out of Fraunce 72000 crownes. That the King that now is then Daulphin should marrie King Edwards eldest daughter at this day Queene of England, and that she should have the Duchy of Guienne for her maintenance, or 50000 crownes yeerely to be paid in the Tower of London by the space of nine yeeres: which terme expired: the King that now is and his wife should peaceably enjoy the revenues of the whole Duchie of Guienne, and then the King our Master to be cleerely discharged of all paiments to the King of England. Divers other trifling articles there were, touching matter of enter-course, which I overpasse. Lastly, this truce was to endure nine yeeres betweene the two realmes: all the confederates of both parties being comprehended therein, and namely on the King of Englands behalfe, the Dukes of Burgundie and Britaine if themselves would. Further, the King of England made a marvellous strange offer, which was, to name in writing certaine noble men, who he said were traitors to the King and his crowne. The King rejoiced marvellously at the report that his Commissioners made

at their returne, and sat in counsell about these overtures of peace: where among others my selfe was present. Some supposed all this treatie to bee meere deceit and cunning of the English men, but the King was of a contrarie opinion: for he alleaged first the time of the yeere, saying, that winter now approched, and that they had not one place to lodge in: secondarily, he declared the evill turnes the Duke of Burgundy had done them, who was also departed from them. And as touching the Constable he did in maner assure himselfe, that he would put no places into their hands, because he sent howlerly to him to entertaine him, to asswage his malice, and to keepe him from doing harme: lastly, he alleaged the King of Englands disposition, whom he knew well to be a Prince wholly given to his pleasures and delights. Wherefore he seemed to discourse wiselier than any man of the company, and better to understand than any other the matters there debated. He concluded therefore with all speed to pay this summe of money, and devised order how to levie it, and in the ende commanded that everie man should lend a portion the sooner to furnish it: for the King cared not what he did to rid the King of England out of his Realme, save onely that he would in no wise consent to put any places into the English mens hands: for rather then he would suffer that, he was fully determined to hazard all.

The Constable who began to smell these practises, was stricken with sudden feare, because he had offended all the three Princes. Further, he doubted much the treatie almost concluded against him at Bouvines. Wherefore he sent often to the King, and even at this present arrived at the Court one of his gentlemen named Lewis of Creuille, with one of his Secretaries called Iohn Richer who are both yet living. They delivered their message to the Lord of Bouchage and me before they spake with the King, as his pleasure was they should. The newes they brought liked the King well, because he meant to use them to good purpose as you shall heare. The Lord of Contay (servant to the Duke of Burgundie) lately taken prisoner before Arras as you have heard, went to and fro upon his word betweene the Duke and the King: and the King had promised to release him his raunsome, and to give him a great summe of money if he could perswade his Master to peace. By chance he returned to the King the selvesame day that these two servants of the Constables arrived. Wherefore the King made him and me to stand in a great old presse in his cham-

ber, to the end he might heare and make report to his Master, of the language the Constable and his servants used of him. We being there placed, the King sate downe on a forme hard by the presse, to the end we might the better heare Lewis of Creuilles and his companions message. Who began thus, that of late being by their Masters commandement with the Duke of Burgundie, to perswade him to depart from the English mens friendship: they found him in such a rage against the King of England, that they had almost wooen him not onely to abandon the English men, but also to helpe to spoile and destroy them in their returne home. And in uttering these words (the better to please the King) the said Lewis of Creuille counterfetting the Duke of Burgundies gesture by stamping upon the ground and swearing S. George, rehearsed many reprochfull speeches that (as they said) the Duke used of the King of England. To be short, they uttered as many scofs and mocks of the Duke as was possible. The King made great sport with this matter, and bad the said Lewis of Creuille, to speake alowd, faining himselfe to be growen somewhat deafe, and to tell him this tale againe: which the other making no bones thereat, did with a good will.

The said Contay (who stood with me in the presse) was marvellously astonished at this talke, neither would have beleevved it unlesse himselfe had heard it. The Constables mens conclusion was this. They counselled the King, for avoiding of all these great dangers he sawe hang over his head, to conclude a truce (for the which the said Constable offered to travell to the uttermost of his power:) and to put into the English mens hands (the better to content them) some small towne or two to lodge them in this winter, saying, that were they never so bad, yet the English men would holde themselves contented with them. And it seemed by their talke, though they named no place, that they meant Eu and Saint Valery. By this meanes the Constable trusted to recover the King of Englands favor, which he had lost bicause of the refusall made him of his places. But the King who thought it sufficient to have plaied his part by bringing the Lord of Contay to heare what language the Constable and his men used of the Duke his Master, gave them no evill answer, but said that he would send to his brother,^s to advertise him of such newes as he knew, and

^s The King calleth the Constable brother, bicause the King and he had married two sisters.

so licenced them to depart. Notwithstanding, one of them before his departure sware to reveale unto him whatsoever he could learne touching him or his estate. The King had much adoo to dissemble any longer when he heard them counsell him to put townes into the English mens hands. Notwithstanding he gave them no such answer, whereby they might gather their counsell to be taken in evill part (bicause he feared, that would the more increase the Constables malice :) but sent one backe with them to their Master: it was not far betweene him and us, for a man might go and come in very short space. When the others were departed, the Lord of Contay and I came out of the presse: the King laughed marvellously, and was very mery with this pageant. But the said Contay was so far out of patience to heare such petit companions thus flout and scoffe his Master (especially the Constable pretending so great friendship to his Master, and treating with him of so many matters) that he thought every hower ten till he were on horsebacke to advertise the Duke his Master thereof. Wherefore he was dispatched with all speede, and wrote his instructions himselfe: he caried also with him a letter of credit, written with the Kings owne hand, and so departed.

The peace with the English men was already concluded as above is mentioned, and all these practises were entertained in one instant. The Kings Commissioners had made report of their negotiations as you have heard, and the King of England was also returned to him. Further it was concluded and agreed on both sides by the ambassadors that passed between them, that the two Princes should meete together, and after they had seene one another and sworne the treatie, the King of England should returne home into his countrey, having first received the sum above mentioned of 72000 crownes, and leaving in hostage behinde him, till he were passed the seas, the Lord Howard, and the Master of his horse called sir Iohn Cheinie. Lastly, a pension of 16000 crownes was promised to be divided among the King of England's principal servants, of the which sum the Lord Hastings had two thousand. The rest had the Lord Howard, the Master of the horse, Master Chalanger, Master Montgomerie and others: besides this, great summe of money and goodly presents of silver plate were given to King Edwards servants.

The Duke of Burgundy hearing these newes, came in great haste from Luxembourg where he lay, to the King of England,

accompanied onely with sixteen horse. The King being much astonished at this his so sudden arrivall, asked him what winde drave him thither, perceiving by his countenance that he was displeased. The Duke answered that he was come to talke with him. The King demanded whether he would speake with him privately or publikely. Then said the Duke, have you concluded peace? I have quoth the King made truce for nine yeeres, wherein both you and the Duke of Britaine are comprehended, and I pray you agree thereunto. But the Duke grew marvellous hot, and spake in English (for he could the language) rehearsing what noble acts divers Kings of England had done in Fraunce, and what great travell they had sustained to purchase honor and renowne. Afterward he inveighed vehemently against this truce, saying, that he had not desired the English men to passe the seas for any neede he had of their helpe, but to the end they might recover their owne right. And to the intent they might perceive that he stood in no need of their comming: he protested that he would not make truce with the King, till the King of England had been three moneths at home in his realme: which talke ended, he departed and returned from whence he came. The King of England and his Councell tooke these words in evill part: but they that misliked the peace commended much the Dukes speech.

How the Burgundians lying neere to Paris, and looking for the battell, supposed great thistles to have been launces held upright.

I HAVE been long in this discourse, but it serveth to so good purpose that sooner I could not end it. Now to returne to the wars, you have heard how these archers that lay in the trench along upon the river of Seine, dislodged at the very instant that we should have assailed them. The truce never endured past a day or two, and when it ended sharpe war began againe, and the skirmishes continued from morning till night, but no great force issued foorth of the towne, notwithstanding they bett backe our scoutes oftentimes whom we ever releevd with new supplies. There passed no day without some skirmish great or small, and I thinke the King would have had them greater, had it not been bicause he was jelous of divers though needlesly. I have heard him say that one night he found the posterne of Saint Anthonies bastile towards the fields wide open, which put him in suspicion

of Master Charles of Melun, whose father kept the place, yet sure a faithfuller servant than the said Charles that yeere the King had none.

One day they within Paris determined to issue forth to fight with us, of the which enterprise I suppose the King understood nothing, but it was onely his capitaines resolution, they meant to assaile us three severall waies, their greatest band should have come from Paris, another from Pont de Charenton, which two could not greatly have endamaged us, and the third appointed to be two hundred men of armes from Bois-de-Vincennes. Of this resolution we were advertised about midnight by a Page that told us this newes as lowd as he could crie from the other side of the river, by commandement of the Princes friends within the towne, some of the which also he named and so departed. By breake of day issued forth Master Poncet of Riviere before Pont de Charenton, and the Lord of Lau on the other side from Bois-de-Vincennes even hard to our artillerie, where they slue one of our gunners. The alarme was great in our campe: for we supposed this to be the enterprise, whereof the Page advertised us over night. The Earle of Charolois was soone armed, yet not so soone as Iohn Duke of Calabria, for at all alarmes he was the first man armed, and that at all points, and his horse ever barded. Moreover he ware such a garment as the famous men of war use in Italy, and shewed himselfe both a noble Prince, and a woorthy Captaine: he rode straight to the barriars of our campe to staie our men from issuing forth, where he was well obeyed as the Earle of Charolois himselfe: yea the whole armie obeied him more willingly than any man in the companie, of the which honor undoubtedly he was woorthie. Incontinent our whole force was in armes and stood in order of battell within our cariage, all save two hundred horse that kept our watch abroad. To be short this day we looked assuredly for the battell, but never before nor after. Soone after the Earle of Charolois and the Duke of Calabria, arrived the Dukes of Berry and Britaine, whom I never sawe armed but this day onely. The Duke of Berry was armed at all points: notwithstanding they were but weakely accompanied, in the which estate they passed through the campe, and rode forth to the Lords of Charolois and Calabria where they communed together. Our scoutes being reinforced, rode as neere Paris as they could, and discovered a great number of our eni-

mies scouts, comming to learne what noise this was in our armie. Our artillery shot terribly when Monsieur de Lau approached so neere us: the King also had good peeces upon Paris wals, that shot into our campe which was strange: for we lay two leagues from the towne, but I thinke the peeces were mounted to the most advantage. This thundering of the artillerie, caused both the parties to thinke some great enterprise to be towards: The day was very darke and cloudie, and our scouts approching neer to Paris, discovered many enimies abroad in the field, and a good way beyond them, a number of launces held upright (as they supposed,) which they judged to be the kings whole force, and all the people of Paris issued foorth of the towne in order of battell: which imagination the darknes of the heavens put into their head. They returned foorthwith to the Princes being yet without our campe, and advertised them of this newes, assuring them of the battell. The scoutes that were issued foorth of Paris approached still neerer and neerer to our campe, because they sawe ours retire: which thing so much the more increased in our scoutes their former imagination. Then came the Duke of Calabria to the place where a great number of the Earle of Charolois houshold servants stood to accompanie his standard and his banner readie to be displaid, and the guidon of his armes according to the custome of the house of Burgundie, and there the said Duke of Calabria spake thus to us all: We have now our desire for the King is issued foorth with his whole force, and marcheth forward as our scoutes tell us. Wherefore let us determine to play the men. So soone as they be out of the towne we will enter, and measure with the long ell,¹ and with such like words rode he about encouraging the companie. Our scoutes at the length perceiving the enimies to be but weake recovered their spirits, and rode againe towards Paris, where they discovered these battels in the selfesame place they left them: whereupon they entred into a new cogitation what they might be, but when they approached neere to them (the day being broken up and cleere) they perceived them to be high thistles, whereupon they rode hard to the towne gates, and found not a man abroad, whereof incontinent they advertised the Princes, who upon this newes went to masse and afterward to dinner: but our scoutes were ashamed of

¹ By the long ell he meaneth the pike, wherewith souldiers at the sacke of a towne use to measure velvets, silks, and cloths.

their first advertisement, notwithstanding the darknes of the day, together with the message of the Page brought unto us over night, somewhat excused them.

A discourse upon certaine vertues of the Duke of Burgundie, and of the time his house flourished in prosperitie.

I SAW at Milan since his death a signet that I have often seene him weare at his brest, which was a ring set with a camée, having very curiously cut into it an iron to strike fire, wherein his armes were graven. This ring was sold at Milan for two ducats, and he that stole it from him was a false knave, that had beene a groome of his chamber. Many a time have I seene him made ready and unready with great reverence and solemnitie, and that by great personages. But now when death came, all these honors fled away, and both he and his house were destroyed as you have heard in the selvesame place where a little before he had consented for covetousnes to deliver the Constable to death. I had knowen him in times past a mightie and honorable Prince; as much yea more esteemed and sought to of his neighbours, then any Prince in Christendome. Further, in mine opinion the greatest cause of Gods indignation against him, was for that he attributed all his good successe, and all the great victories he obtained in this world, to his owne wisdom and vertue; and not to God, as he ought to have done. And undoubtedly he was endued with many goodly vertues: for never was Prince more desirous to entertain enoble men, and keepe them in good order than he. His liberalitie seemed not great, because he made all men partakers thereof. Never Prince gave audience more willingly to his servants and subjects than he. While I served him he was not cruell, but grew marvellous cruell towards his end: which was a signe of short life. In his apparell and all other kinde of furniture he was wondrous pompous, yea somewhat too excessive. He received very honorably all ambassadors and strangers, feasting them sumptuously, and entertaining them with great solemnitie. Covetous he was of glorie which was the chiefe cause that made him moove so many wars: for he desired to imitate those ancient Princes, whose fame continueth till this present. Lastly, hardy he was and valiant, as any man that lived in his time: but all his great enter-

prises and attempts ended with himselfe, and turned to his owne losse and dishonor; for the honor goeth ever with the victorie. Yet to say the truth, I wot not well whether God powred out greater indignation upon him, or upon his subjects: for he died in battel without any long grieffe; but they sithence his death never lived in peace, but in continual war; against the which they have not been able to make resistance, because of their owne civill troubles and divisions. Yea and another thing that most grieveth them is, that they that now defend them are strangers, who not long since were their enemies, namely the Almaines. To conclude, since the Dukes death never man bare them good wil, no not they that defend them. Further, if a man consider well their actions, it seemeth that their wits were as much troubled, as their Princes before his death: for they despised all good counsell, and sought all meanes to hurt themselves. In the which vale of miserie they are stil like to continue; or if happily they wade out of it for a season, like they are to fall into it again.

The Conclusion of the Author.

YOU see heere a number of great personages dead in short space, who travelled so mightily, and endured so many anguishes and sorrowes to purchase honor and renoume, whereby they abridged their lives, yea and peradventure charged their soules. I speake not this of the Turke, for I make account he is lodged with his predecessors; but our King and the rest, I trust, God hath taken to his mercy. Now to speake of this point as a man unlearned, but having some experience: had it not beene better both for these great Princes themselves and all their subjects that lived under them, and shall live under their successors, to have held a meane in all things, that is to say, to have attempted fewer enterprises, to have feared more to offend God, and persecute their subjects and neighbours so many sundry waies above rehearsed, and to have used honest pleasures and recreation? Yes sure. For by that meanes their lives should have beene prolonged, diseases should not so soone have assailed them, their death should have been more lamented, and lesse desired; yea, and they should have had lesse cause to feare death. What goodlier examples can we finde to teach us that man is but a shadow, that our life is miserable and

short, and that we are nothing, neither great nor small? For immediately after our death, all men abhorre and loath our bodies, and so soone as the soule is severed from the body, it goeth to receive judgement: yea undoubtedly at the very instant that the soule and body part, the judgement of God is given according to our merits and deserts, which is called the particular judgement of God.

THE CHRONICLE OF
FROISSART
Translated out of French by
SIR JOHN BOURCHIER
LORD BERNERS
Annis 1523-25

*ALL furnisht, all in arms;
All plumed like estridges that wing the wind;
Bated like eagles having lately bathed;
Glittering in golden coats, like images;
As full of spirit as the month of May,
And gorgeous as the sun at midsummer.*

SHAKESPEARE, *Henry IV*, Part I, Act iv.

*THEY now to fight are gone,
Armour on armour shone,
Drumme now to drumme did groan,
To hear was wonder;
That with cries they make,
The very earth did shake,
Trumpet to trumpet spake,
Thunder to thunder.*

MICHAEL DRAYTON, *Ballad of Agincourt*.

F R O I S S A R T

*Of the batayle of Cressy byrwene the kyng of England
and the Frenche kyng.*

THENGLYSSHMEN who were in thre batayls, lyeng on the grounde to rest them, assone as they saw the Frenchmen aproche, they rose upon their fete fayre and easely without any hast, and aranged their batayls: the first, which was the princes batell, the archers there stode in maner of a herse and the men of armes in the botome of the batayle. Therle of Northampton and therle of Arundell with the second batell were on a wyng in good order, redy to confort the princes batayle, if nede were. The lordes and knyghtes of France came nat to the assemble togyder in good order, for some came before and some came after, in such hast and yvell order, that one of them dyd trouble another. Whan the French kyng sawe the Englysshmen, his blode chaunged, and sayde to his marshals, Make the Genowayes go on before, and begynne the batayle in the name of God and saynt Denyse. Ther were of the Genowayes crosbowes, about a fiftene thousand, but they were so wery of goyng a fote that day a six leages armed with their crosbowes, that they sayde to their constables, We be nat well ordred to fyght this day, for we be nat in the case to do any great dede of armes, we have more nede of rest. These wordes came to the erle of Alanson, who sayd, A man is well at ease to be charged with suche a sorte of rascalles, to be faynt and fayle nowe at moost nede. Also the same season there fell a great rayne and a clyps with a terryble thonder, and before the rayne ther came fleyng over bothe batayls a great nombre of crowes, for feare of the tempest commynge. Than anone the eyre beganne to waxe clere, and the sonne to shyne fayre and bright, the which was right in the Frenchmens eyen and on the Englysshmens backs. Whan the Genowayes were assembled togyuyder, and beganne to aproche, they made a great leape and crye to abasshe thenglysshmen, but they stode styll and styredde nat for all that. Thane the Genowayes agayne the seconde tyme made another leape and a fell crye, and stepped forwarde a lytell, and thenglysshmen remeved nat one fote. Thirdly, agayne

they leapt and cryed, and went forthe tyll they came within shotte: thane they shotte feersly with their crosbowes. Than thenglysshe archers stept forthe one pase, and lette fly their arowes so holly and so thycke, that it semed snowe. Whan the Genowayes felte the arowes persynge through heedes, armes and brestes, many of them cast downe their crosbowes and dyde cutte their strynges, and retourned dysconfited.

.

This batayle bytwene Broy and Cressy this Saturday was ryght cruell and fell, and many a feat of armes done that came nat to my knowledge. In the night dyverse knyghtes and squyers lost their maisters, and somtyme came on thenglysshmen, who receyved theym in suche wyse, that they were ever nighe slayne, for there was none taken to mercy nor to raunsome, for so the Englysshmen were determyned. In the mornyng the day of the batayle certayne Frenchemen and Almaynes perforce opyned the archers of the princes batayle, and came and fought with the men of armes hande to hande. Than the seconde batayle of thenglysshmen came to socour the princes batayle, the whiche was tyme, for they had as than moche ado; and they with the prince sent a messenger to the kyng, who was on a lytell wyndmyll hyll. Than the knyght sayd to the kyng, Sir, therle of Warwyke, and therle of Canfort, sir Reynolde Cobham and other, suche as be about the prince your sonne, ar feersly fought with all and are sore handled, wherfore they desyre you that you and your batayle wolle come and ayde them; for if the Frenchmen encrease, as they dout they woll, your sonne and they shall have moche ado. Than the kyng sayde, Is my sonne deed or hurt, or on the yerthe felled? No sir, quoth the knyght, but he is hardely matched, wherfore he hathe nede of your ayde. Well, sayde the kyng, retourne to hym, and to them that sent you hyther, and say to them that they sende no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my sonne is alyve; and also say to them that they suffre hym this day to wynne his spurres; for if God be pleased, I woll this journey be his and the honoure therof, and to them that be aboute hym.

.

In the evenyng the Frenche kyng, who had lefte about hym no mo than a threscore persons, one and other, wherof sir John

of Heynalt was one, who had remounted ones the kynge, for his horse was slayne with an arowe; than he sayde to the kynge, Sir, departe hense, for it is tyme; lese nat yourselfe wylfully; if ye have losse at this tyme, ye shall recover it agayne another season. And soo he toke the kynges horse by the bridell, and ledde hym away in a maner perforce. Than the kyng rode tyll he came to the castell of Broy. The gate was closed, bycause it was by that tyme darke; than the kynge called the captayne, who came to the walles, and sayd, Who is that calleth there this tyme of nyght. Than the kynge sayd, Obyn your gate quickly, for this is the fortune of Fraunce. The captayne knewe than it was the kyng, and opyned the gate, and let downe the bridge; than the kyng entred, and he had with hym but fyve barownes, sir Johan of Heynault, sir Charles of Momorency, the lorde of Beaujewe, the lorde Dabegny, and the lorde of Mountfort. The kynge wolde nat tary there, but dranke and departed thense about mydnyght, and so rode by suche guydes as knewe the countrey, tyll he came in the mornynge to Amyense, and there he rested. This Saturday, the Englysshemen never departed fro their batayls for chasyng of any man, but kept styll their felde, and ever defended themselfe agaynst all such as came to assaile them. This batayle ended aboute evynsonge tyme.

Howe the towne of Calys was gyven up to the kyng of England.

AFTER that the Frenche kyng was thus departed fro Sangate, they within Calays sawe well howe their socoure fayled them, for the whiche they were in great sorowe. Than they desyred so moche their captayne sir John of Vyen, that he went to the walles of the towne and made a sygne to speke with some person of the hoost. Whan the kyng harde therof, he sende thyder sir Gaultier of Manny and sir Basset. . . .

Sir Gaultier of Manny and sir Basset retourned to the kynge and declared to hym all that hadde ben sayde. The kynge sayde he wolde none otherwyse but that they shulde yelde them up symply to his pleasure. Than sir Gaultyer sayde, Sir, savyng your dyspleasure in this, ye may be in the wronge, for ye shall gyve by this an yvell ensample: if ye sende any of us your servauntes into any fortresse, we woll nat be very gladde to go if ye putte any of them in the towne to dethe after they be yelded, for in lykewise

they woll deale with us if the case fell lyke: the whiche wordes dyverse other lordes that were there present sustayned and maynteyned. Than the kynge sayde, Sirs, I woll nat be alone agaynst you all; therfore, sir Gaultyer of Manny, ye shall goo and say to the capytayne that all the grace that he shall finde nowe in me is that they lette sixe of the chiefe burgesses of the towne come out bare headed, bare foted and bare legged, and in their shertes, with haulters about their neckes, with the kayes of the towne and castell in their handes, and lette theym sixe yelde themselfe purely to my wyll, and the resydewe I wyll take to mercy. Than sir Gaultyer retourned and founde sir John of Vyen styll on the wall, abydinge for an answer: thanne sir Gaultier shewed hym all the grace that he coulede gette of the kynge. Well, quoth sir Johan, sir, I requyre you tarry here a certayne space tyll I go into the towne and shewe this to the commons of the towne, who sent me hyder. Than sir John went unto the market place and sowned the common bell. Than incontynent men and women assembled there; than the capytayne made reporte of all that he had done, and sayde, Sirs, it wyll be none otherwyse; therfore nowe take advyse and make a shorte aunswere. Thanne all the people beganne to wepe and to make such sorowe, that there was nat so hard a hert if they had sene them but that wolde have had great pytie of theym; the capytayne hym selfe wepte pyteously. At last the moost riche burgesse of all the towne, called Ewstace of saynt Peters, rose up and sayde openly, Sirs, great and small, great myschiefe it shulde be to suffre to dye suche people as be in this towne, other by famyn or otherwyse, whan there is a meane to save theym: I thynke he or they shulde have great merytte of our Lorde God that myght kepe theym fro suche myschiefe: as for my parte, I have so good truste in our Lorde God, that if I dye in the quarell to save the residewe, that God wolde pardone me; wherfore, to save them, I wyll be the first to putte my lyfe in jeopardy. Whan he had thus sayde, every man worshypped hym, and dyvers kneled downe at his fete with sore wepyng and sore sighes. Than another honest burgesse rose and sayde, I wyll kepe company with my gossyppe Ewstace; he was called John Dayre. Than rose up Jaques of Wyssant, who was riche in goodes and herytage; he sayd also that he wolde holde company with his two cosyns; in likwyse so dyd Peter of Wyssant his brother: and thane rose two other; they sayde they wolde do the same. Thanne they went and aparelled them as the kynge de-

syred. Than the captayne went with them to the gate: ther was great lamentacyon made of men, women, and chyl dren at their departyng: than the gate was opyned and he yssued out with the vi. burgesses and closed the gate agayne, so that they were bytwene the gate and the barriers. Than he sayd to sir Gaultier of Manny, Sir, I delyver here to you as captayne of Calays, by the hole consent of all the peple of the towne, these six burgesses; and I swere to you truely that they be and were to day moost honourable, riche, and most notable burgesses of all the towne of Calys; wherfore, gentyll knyght, I requyre you pray the kyng to have mercy on theym, that they dye nat. Quoth sir Gaultier, I can nat say what the kyng wyll do, but I shall do for them the best I can. Thane the barryers were opyned, the sixe burgesses went towards the kyng, and the captayne entred agayne into the towne.

Whan sir Gaultier presented these burgesses to the kyng, they kneled downe and helde up their handes and sayd, Gentyll kyng, beholde here we sixe, who were burgesses of Calays and great marchantes: we have brought to you the kayes of the towne and of the castell and we submyt oure selfe clerely into your wyll and pleasure, to save the resydue of the people of Calays, who have suffred great payne. Sir, we beseche your grace to have mercy and pytie on us through your hygh nobles: than all the erles and barownes, and other that were there, wept for pytie. The kyng loked felly on theym, for greatly he hated the people of Calys, for the gret damages and dyspleasures they had done hym on the see before. Than he commaunded their heedes to be stryken of. Than every man requyred the kyng for mercy, but he wolde here no man in that behalfe. Than sir Gaultier of Manny sayd, A noble kyng, for Goddes-sake, refrayne your courage; ye have the name of soverayne nobles, therfore nowe do nat a thyng that shulde blemysse your renome, nor to gyve cause to some to speke of you villany; every man woll say it is a great cruelty to put to deth suche honest persons, who by their owne wylles putte themselfe into your grace to save their company. Than the kyng wryed away fro hym, and commaunded to sende for the hangman, and sayd, They of Calys had caused many of my men to be slayne, wherfore these shall dye in likewyse. Than the quene beynge great with chylde, kneled downe and sore wepyng, sayd, A gentyll sir, syth I passed the see in great parell, I have desyred nothyng of you; therfore nowe I humbly requyre you, in the

honour of the Son of the Virgin Mary and for the love of me that ye woll take mercy of these sixe burgesses. The kyng behelde the quene and stode styll in a study a space, and than sayd, A dame, I wold ye had ben as nowe in some other place, ye make suche request to me that I can nat deny you; wherfore I gyve them to you, to do your pleasure with theym. Than the quene caused them to be brought into her chambre, and made the halters to be taken fro their neckes, and caused them to be newe clothed, and gave them their dyner at their leser; and than she gave ech of them sixe nobles and made them to be brought out of thoost in savegard and set at their lyberte.

Of the order of saynt George that kyng Edwarde stablysshed in the castell of Wyndsore.

IN this season the king of England toke pleasure to newe reedefy the Castell of Wyndsore, the whiche was begonne by kyng Arthure; and ther firste beganne the Table Rounde, wherby sprange the fame of so many noble knyghtes throughout all the worlde. Than kyng Edwarde determyned to make an order and a brotherhode of a certayne nombre of knyghtes, and to be called knyghtes of the blew garter; and a feest to be kept yerely at Wynsore on saynt Georges day. And to begynne this order, the kyng assembled togyder erles, lordes and knyghtes of his realme, and shewed them his intencion; and they all joyously agreed to his pleasur, bycause thei sawe it was a thyng moche honourable, and wherby great amyte and love shulde growe and encrease. Than was ther chosen out a certayne nombre of the moost valyantest men of the realme, and they sware and sayled to mentayne the ordynaunces, suche as were devysed; and the kyng made a chapell in the castell of Wynsore, of saynt George, and stablysshed certayne chanons ther to serve God, and enduyd them with fayre rent. Than the kyng sende to publysshe this feest, by his heraldes, into Fraunce, Scotlande, Burgone, Heynault, Flaunders, Brabant, and into thempyre of Almayne, gyving to every knight and squyer that wolde come to the sayd feest xv dayes of salve conduct before the feest and after; the whiche feest to begynne at Wyndsore, on saynt George day nexte after, in the yere of our Lorde M.CCC.xliiii. and the quene to be ther acompanyed with iii. C. ladyes and damosels, all of noble lynage, and aparelled acordingly.

THE HISTORY OF
DON QUIXOTE
OF THE MANCHA

*Translated from the Spanish
of Miguel de Cervantes by*

THOMAS SHELTON

Annis 1612, 1620

DON QUIXOTE¹

BEHIND thy pasteboard, on thy battered hack,
Thy lean cheek striped with plaster to and fro,
Thy long spear levelled at the unseen foe,
And doubtful Sancho trudging at thy back,
Thou wert a figure strange enough, good lack!
To make wiseacredom, both high and low,
Rub purblind eyes, and (having watched thee go)
Dispatch its Dogberrys upon thy track:
Alas! poor Knight! Alas! poor soul possesst!
Yet would to-day when Courtesy grows chill,
And life's fine loyalties are turned to jest,
Some fire of thine might burn within us still!
Ah, would but one might lay his lance in rest,
And charge in earnest . . . were it but a mill!

AUSTIN DOBSON.

¹ *At the Sign of the Lyre* (1885) Reproduced here by arrangement with the Oxford University Press and Mr A. T. A. Dobson.

. DON QUIXOTE

Wherein is rehearsed the calling, and exercises of the renowned Gentleman Don-Quixote, of the Mancha.

THERE lived not long since in a certaine vilage of the Mancha, the name wherof I purposely omit, a Yeoman of their calling that use to pile up in their hals old Launces, Halbards, Morriions, and such other armours and weapons. He was besides master of an ancient Target, a leane Stallion, and a swift Greyhound. His pot consisted daily of somewhat more Beefe then Mutton, a little minced meate every night, griefes and complaints the Saturdayes, Lentils on Fridayes, and now and then a Pigeon of respect on Sundayes did consume three parts of his rents: the rest and remnant thereof was spent on a Ierkin of fine Puke, a paire of velvet hose, with pantofles of the same for the holly-dayes, and one apparell of the finest vesture; for therewithall he honored and set out his person on the worke dayes. Hee had in his house a woman-servant, of about some forty yeares old, and a niese not yet twenty, and a man that served him both in felde and at home, and could saddle his horse, and likewise manage a pruning hooke. The Master himselfe was about fifty yeares olde, of a strong complexion, drie flesh, and a withered face: he was an early riser, and a great friend of hunting. Some affirme that his surname was Quixada or Quesada (for in this there is some variance among the authours that write his life) although it may be gathered by very probable conjectures, that he was called Quixana. Yet all this concernes our historicall relation but little; let it then suffice, that in the narration thereof we will not vary a jot from the truth.

You shall therefore wit, that this Yeoman above named the spirits that he was idle (which was the longer part of the yeare) did apply himselfe wholly to the reading of bookes of Knight-hood, and that with such gusts and delights, as he almost wholly neglected the exercise of hunting, yea and the very administration of his houshold affaires: and his curiosity and folly came to that passe, that he made away many acres of arable land to buy him bookes of that kind; and therefore he brought to his house as many as ever he could get of that subject.

IN resolution, he plunged himself so deeply in his reading of these bookes, as he spent many times in the Lecture of them whole dayes and nights; and in the end, through his little sleepe and much reading, he dryed up his braines in such sort, as he lost wholly his judgement. His fantasie was filled with those things that he read, of enchantments, quarrels, battels, challenges, wounds, woings, loves, tempests, and other impossible follies. And these toyes did so firmly possesse his imagination with an infallible opinion, that all that Machina of dreamed inventions which he read was true, as he accounted no History in the world to be so certaine and sincere as they were.

FINALLY, his wit being wholly extinguished; he fell into one of the strangest conceits that ever mad-man stumbled on in this world, to wit, it seemed unto him very requisite and behoovefull, as well for the augmentation of his honours, as also for the benefite of the Commonwealth, that he himselfe should become a Knight Errant, and goe throughout the world, with his horse and armor to seeke adventures, and practise in person all that he had read was used by Knights of yoare; revenging of all kinds of injuries, and offering himselfe to occasions and dangers: which being once happily atchieved, might gaine him eternall renowne. The poore soule did already figure himselfe crowned through the valour of his arme, at least with the Empire of Trapesonda; and ledde thus by these soothing thoughts, and borne away with the exceeding delight he found in them, he hastened all that he might, to effect his urging desires.

And first of all he caused certaine old rusty armes to be scoured, that belonged to his great Grand-father, and lay many ages neglected, and forgotten in a by-corner of his house; he trimmed them and dressed them the best he mought, and then perceived a great defect they had; for they wanted an helmet, and had only a plain morrion: but he by his industry supplied that want, and framed with certaine papers pasted together, a Beaver for his Morrion. True it is, that to make tryall whether his pasted Beaver was strong enough, and might abide the adventure of a blow he out with his sword, and gave it a blow or two, and with the very first did quite undoe his whole weekes labour: the facility wherewithall it was dissolved liked him nothing; wherefore to assure himselfe better the next time from the like danger, he

made it anew, placing certaine iron barres within it, in so artificiall manner, as he rested at once satisfied, both with his invention, and also the sollidity of the worke; and without making a second tryall, he deputed and held it in estimation of a most excellent Beaver. Then did he presently visit his horse, who though he had more corners then a Spanish Reall, and more faults then Gonellas, having nothing on him but skin and bone; yet he thought that neyther Alexanders Bucephalus, nor the Cid his horse Babieca, were in any respect equall to him. He spent foure dayes devising him a name: for (as he reasoned to himselfe) it was not fit that so famous a Knights horse, and chiefly being so good a beast, should want a knowne name; and therefore he endeavoured to give him such a one, as should both declare what sometime he had beene, before he pertayned to a Knight Errant, and also what presently he was: for it stood greatly with reason seeing his Lord and Master changed his estate and vocation, that he should alter likewise his denomination, and get a new one, that were famous and altisonant, as becommed the new order and exercise which he now professed: and therefore after many other names which he framed, blotted out, rejected, added, undid, and turned againe to frame in his memory and imagination, he finally concluded to name him Rozinante, a name in his opinion, lofty, ful, and significative of what he had beene when he was a simple horse, before he was exalted to his new dignity; being as he thought, the best carriage beast of the world. The name being thus given to his horse, and so to his minde, he resolved to give himselfe a name also, and in that thought he laboured other eight dayes; and in conclusion, called himselfe Don-Quixote; whence (as is said) the Authours of this most true History deduce, that he was undoubtedly named Quixada, and not Quesada as others would have it.

Of the good successe Don-Quixote had, in the dreadfull and never imagined adventure of the Windemils. . . .

As thus they discoursed, they discovered some thirty or forty Windemils, that are in that field: and as soone as Don-Quixote espied them, he said to his Squire: Fortune doth addresse our affaires better than wee our selves could desire; for behold there, friend Sancho Pança, how there appeares thirty or forty mon-

strous Giants, with whom I meane to fight, and deprive them all of their lives; with whose spoyles we will begin to be rich; for this is a good warre, and a great service unto God, to take away so bad a seede from the face of the earth. What Giants? quoth Sancho Pança. Those that thou seest there, quoth his Lorde, with the long armes, and some there are of that race, whose armes are almost two leagues long. I pray you understand, quoth Sancho Pança, that those which appeare there, are no Gyants but Windemils: and that which seemes in them to be armes, are their Sayles, that are swunged about by the Winde, doe also make the Mill goe. It seemes well, quoth Don-Quixote, that thou art not yet acquainted with matter of adventures: they are Giants, and if thou beest afeard, goe aside and pray, whilst I enter into cruell and unequall battell with them. And saying so, he spurd his horse Rozinante, without taking heed to his Squire Sanchos cryes, advertising him how they were doubtlesly Windemils that he did assault, and no Giants; but he went so fully perswaded, that they were Giants, as he neither heard his Squires out-cries nor did discerne what they were, although he drew very neere to them, but rather said as loud as he could: Flie not, ye cowards and vile creatures, for it is onely one Knight that assaults you. With this the Winde increased, and the Mill Sailes began to turn about; which Don-Quixote espying, said, Although thou movedst more armes then the Gyant Briareo, thou shalt stoope to me; and after saying this, and commending himselfe most devoutly to his Lady Dulcinea, desiring her to succour him in that trance, covering himselfe well with his buckler, and setting his Launce on his rest, he spurred on Rozinante, and encountered with the first Mill that was before him, and striking his Lance into the Sayle, the Winde swunged it about with such furie, that it broke his Launce into shivers, carrying him and his horse after it, and finally tumbled him a good way off from it, on the field in very evill plight. Sancho Pança repayred presently to succour him, as fast as his Asse could drive: and when he arrived, he found him not able to stir, he had gotten such a crush with Rozi-nante. Good God! quoth Sancho, did I not foretell unto you that you should looke well what you did? for they were none other then Windemils, nor could any think otherwise, unlesse hee had also Windemils in his braines.

Of the advice that Don Quixote gave Sancho Pansa, before he should goe to governe the Iland.

LIKEWISE, Sancho, you must not intermixe your discourse with that multiplicity of Proverbs you use; for though Proverbs be witty short sentences, yet thou bringest them in so by head and shoulders, that they are rather absurdities then sentences. This (quoth Sancho) God Almighty can onely helpe, for I have more Proverbs then a booke will hold, and when I speake, they come so thicke to my mouth, that they fall out, and strive one with another, who shall come out first: but my tongue casts out the first it meetes withall, though they bee nothing to the purpose, but I will have a care heereafter, to speake none but shall be fitting to the gravity of my place; for where there is plenty, the ghests are not empty, and he that works, doth not care for play, and he is in safety that stands under the bels, and his judgement's rare, that can spend and spare.

Now, now, quoth Don Quixote, glue, thred, fasten thy proverbs together, no body comes: the more thou are told a thing, the more thou dost it; I bid thee leave thy proverbs, and in an instant thou hast cast out a Letany of um, that are as much to the purpose, as, To morrow I found a horse-shoo. Looke thee Sancho, I finde not fault with a proverbe brought in to some purpose, but to load and heap on Proverbs huddling together, makes a discourse wearisome and base.

When thou getst on horse-backe, doe not goe casting thy body all upon the crupper, nor carry thy legges stiffe downe, and straddling from the horses belly, nor yet so loosely, as if thou wert still riding on thy Dapple, for your horse-riding makes some appeare Gentlemen, others Groomes.

Let thy sleepe be moderate, for hee that riseth not with the Sunne, loseth the day: and observe, Sancho, that diligence is the mother of good Fortune, and sloth the contrary, that never could satisfie a good desire.

This last advice that I meane to give thee, though it be not to the adorning of the body, yet I would have thee beare it in thy memory; for I beleeve it will bee of no lesse use to thee, then those that I have hitherto given thee, and it is.

That thou never dispute of Linages, comparing them together, since of necessity amongst those that are compared, one

must be the better, and of him thou debasest thou shalt bee abhorred, and of him ennoblest, not a whit rewarded.

Let thy apparell be a pained hose, and long stockings, a long-skirted jacket, and a cloake of the longest: but long hose by no meanes, for they become neyther Gentlemen nor Governours.

This is all, Sancho, I will advise thee to for the present; as the time and occasions serve hereafter, so shall my instructions bee, so that thou be carefull to let me know how thou dost.

Sir, (quoth Sancho) I see well that you have told me nothing but what is good, holy, and profitable: but to what purpose, if I remember nothing? True it is that, that of not letting my nailes grow, and to marry againe if need be, I shall not forget; but your other slabber-sawces, your tricks and quillets, I cannot remember them, nor shall not, no more then last yeeres clouds: therefore I pray let me have them in writing, for though I can neyther write nor read, Ile give them to my Confessor, that he may frame them into me, and make me capable of them at time of need.

Wretch that I am, quoth Don Quixote, how ill it appears in a Governour, not to write or reade? for know, Sancho, that for a man not to read, or to be left-handed, argues that eyther he was a sonne of meane Parents, or so unhappy and untowardly, that no good would prevaile on him.

I can set to my name, quoth Sancho, for when I was Constable of our Towne, I learnt to make certaine letters, such as are set to marke trusses of stuffe, which they said spelt my name: Besides now, Ile faine that my right hand is maimed, and so another shall firme for me; for theres a remedy for every thing but death; and since I beare sway, Ile doe what I list: for according to the Proverb, He that hath the Iudge to his Father, etc. and I am Governour, which is more then Iudge. I, I, let um come and play at boe-peepe, let um backe-bite me, let um come for wooll, and Ile send them backe shorne; whom God loves, his house is savoury to him, and every man beares with the rich mans follies, so I being rich, and a Governour, and liberall too, as I meane to be, I will be without all faults. No, no, pray be dainty, and see what will become on't, have much, and thou shalt be esteemed much, quoth a Grandame of mine, and might overcomes right.

Oh, a plague on thee, Sancho, (quoth Don Quixote) three-score thousand Satans take thee and thy Proverbs.

Sancho Pansa says good-bye to his Island and Government after being tricked and fooled.

HE asked them what a clocke it was? They answered him, it grew to be day.

Hee held his peace, and without more words, began to cloath himselfe, all buried in silence, and all beheld him, expecting what would bee the issue of his hasty dressing himselfe.

Thus by little and little, he made himselfe ready, for by reason of his wearinesse he could not doe it very fast, and so went toward the stable (all they that were there following him) and coming to Dapple, hee embraced and gave him a loving kisse on the forehead, and not without teares in his eyes, sayd:

Come thou hither, companion mine and friend, fellow-partner of my labours and miseries; when I consorted with you, no other cares troubled me, then to mend the furniture, and to sustaine thy little corps: happy then were my houres, dayes, and yeeres: but since I left thee, and mounted on the towers of ambition and pride, a thousand miseries, a thousand toyles, foure thousand unquietnesses have entred my soule. And as hee was thus discoursing, he fitted on the pack-saddle, no body saying ought unto him. Dapple being thus pack-saddled, with much adoe he got upon him, and directing his speeches and reasons to the Steward, the Doctor and many others there present, he said,

Give me roome, sirs, and leave to return to my former liberty; let mee seeke my ancient life, to rise from this present death: I was not borne to be a Governour, nor to defend Ilands nor Cities from enemies that would assault them: I can tell better how to plow, to digge, to prune, and plant Vineyards, then to give Lawes, or defend Provinces and Kingdomes; tis good sleeping in a whole skinne: I meane, tis fit that every man should exercise the Calling to which he was born: a Sickle is better in my hand, then a Governours Scepter. I had rather fill my selfe with a good dish of Gaspachos, then be subject to the misery of an impertinent Physician, that would kill me with hunger: I had rather solace my selfe under the shade of an Oake in Summer, and cover my selfe with a double sheepe-skinne in Winter quietly, then lay me downe to the subjection of a Government in fine Holland sheets, and be clothed in Sables: fare you well Sir, and tel my Lord the Duke, Naked was I borne, naked I am, I neyther winne nor lose: I meane, I came without crosse to this Government, and I

goe from it without a crosse, contrary to what Governours of other Ilands are used to doe. Stand out of the way, and let me go, for I must seare-cloth my selfe; for I beleeeve all my ribs are bruised, I thanke the enemy that trampled over me all this night.

You shall not doe so, Sir Governour, quoth Doctor Rezio, for I will give you a drinke good against falls and bruises, that shall straight recover you: and touching your diet, I promise you to make amends, and you shall eat plentifully of what you list. Tis too late (quoth Sancho) Ile as soon tarry as turne Turke: these jests are not good the second time: you shall as soone get me to stay heere, or admit of any other Government, (though it were presented in two platters to me) as make me flye to heaven without wings. I am of the lineage of the Pansa's, and we are all headstrong, and if once wee cry odde, odde it must be (though it be even) in spight of all the world. Heere in this stable let my Ants wings remaine that lifted me up in the ayre, to be devoured by Martlets and other birds, and now let's goe a plaine pace on the ground: and though wee weare no pinked Spanish-leather shoos, yet we shall not want course pack-thread Sandals. Like to like, quoth the Devill to the Collier, and let every man cut his measure according to his cloth, and so let mee goe, for it is late.

THE BOOK OF
THE COURTIER

From the Italian of Count

Baldassare Castiglione:

Done into English by

SIR THOMAS HOBY

Anno 1561

NOR *stand so much on your gentility,
Which is an airy and mere borrowed thing,
From dead men's dust and bones; and none of yours,
Except you make or hold it.*

BEN JONSON, *Every Man in His Humour*.

THE COURTIER

A Gentleman borne.

I WYLL have this our Courtyer therfore to be a Gentleman borne and of a good house. For it is a great deale lesse dyspraise for him that is not born a gentleman to faile in the actes of vertue then for a gentleman. If he swarve from the steppes of his auncestours, he stayneth the name of his familie, and doeth not onely not get, but loseth that is already gotten. For noblesse of birth is (as it were) a clere lampe that sheweth forth and bringeth into light, workes bothe good and badde, and enflameth and provoketh unto vertue, as wel with the feare of slaunder, as also with the hope of praise. And wheras this brightnesse of noblesse dothe not discover the workes of the unnoble, they have a wante of provocation and of feare of slaunder, and they reckon not themselves bounde to wade anye further then their auncestours did before theym, whereas the noble of birthe counte it a shame not to arrive at the leaste at the boundes of their predecessours set foorth unto them. Therefore it chaunceth alwaies (in a maner) bothe in armes and in all other vertuous actes, that the moste famous menne are gentlemen. Because nature in every thing hath depely sowed that privie sede, which geveth a certain force and propertie of her beginning, unto whatsoever springeth of it, and maketh it lyke unto her selfe. As we see by example not onely in the race of horses and other beastes, but also in trees, whose slippes and graftes alwayes for the moste parte are lyke unto the stocke of the tree they came from: and yf at any time they growe out of kind, the fault is in the husbandman. And the lyke is in men, yf they bee trayned up in good nourtour, moste commonlye they resemble them from whom thei come and often times passe them, but yf they have not one that can well trayn them up, thei growe (as it were) wylde, and never come to their ripenesse. Truth it is, whether it be through the favour of the starres or of nature, some there are borne endowed wyth suche graces, that they seeme not to have bene borne, but rather facioned with the verye hande of some God, and abounde in all goodnesse bothe of bodye and mynde.

TRUELYE thys that I wyll tell you is not so subtill, yet is it a pretye matter, and this it is. Where talke was a fewe dayes ago of the countrey or world newly founde out by the mariners of Portugal, and of straunge beastes and other matters brought from thens, that friend I toulde you of, affirmed that he had seene an Ape, verie divers in shape from such as we are accustomed to see, that played excellently well at Chestes. And emong other times upon a day beefore the king of Portugal the Gentilman that brought herr played at Chestes with herr, where the Ape showed some draughtes very suttill, so that she put him to his shiftes, at length she gave him Checkemate. Upon this the gentilman beeing somewhat vexed (as communlie they are all that lose at that game) tooke the kinge in his hande whiche was good and bigg as the facion is emonge the Portugalles) and reached the Ape a great knocke on the heade. She forthwith leaped aside complayning greatly, and seemed to require justice at the kinges handes for the wrong done her. The gentilman afterward called her to play with him again, the whiche with signes she refused a while, but at last was contented to play an other game, and as she had done the other time beefore, so did she now drive him to a narrow point. In conclusion: the Ape perceivinge she could give the gentilman the mate, thought with a newe devise she would be sure to escape without any mo knockes, and privilie conveyed her right hande without makinge semblant what her entent was, under the gentilmans left elbowe, leaning for pleaser upon a litle taffata coushin, and snatchinge it slightlie awaye, at one instant gave him with her left hande a mate with a paune, and with her right hande caste the coushin upon her heade to save her from strokes, then she made a gamboll beefore the king joiffully, in token (as it were) of her victory. Now see whether this Ape were not wise, circumspect and of a good understanding.

I HAVE named unto you manie places, out of the which a man may pike pleasant and wittie sayinges, which afterward have so much the more grace, as they are set furth with a comelie protestacion. Yet may there be alleaged manie other also, as whan to encrease or diminish, thinges be spoken that uncrediblye passe the likelihoode of truth. And of this sort was that Marius da Volterra said by a prelate that thought himselfe so taule a person, that as he went into Saint Peters, he stowped for hittinge his

heade againste the greate beame over the porche. Also the L. Julian here saide that Golpino hys servaunte was so leane and drie, that in a morning as he was blowing the fire to kendle it, the smoke bore him up the chimney unto the tonnell, and had gone away with him had he not stooke on crosse at one of the holes above. And M. Augustin Bevazzano toulde, that a covetous manne whiche woulde not sell hys corne while it was at a highe price, whan he sawe afterwarde it had a great falle, for desperation he hanged himself upon a beame in his chamber, and a servaunt of his hearing the noise, made speede, and seeing his maister hang, furthwith cut in sunder the rope and so saved him from death: afterwarde whan the covetous man came to himselfe, he woulde have had hys servaunt to have paide him for his halter that he had cut.

Whan a man deceiveth himselfe.

OF the other kynde of Meerie Prankes whan a man deceyveth himselfe, I will give you none other example, but what happened unto me my selfe not longe sins. For this shroftide that is past, my Lordes grace of Saint Peter ad Vincula, which knoweth full wel what a delite I have whan I am in maskerie to play Meerie Prankes with friers, havinge first given order as he had divised the matter, cam upon a daye with my L. of Aragon and certein other Cardinales, to the windowes in the banckes, making wise to stande there to see maskers passe to and fro, as the maner of Roome is. I being in maskerie passed bye, and whan I behelde on the one side of the streete a frier standinge (as it were) in a studye with himselfe, I judged I had found that I sought for, and furthwith rann to him, like a greedye hauke to her preye, and whan I had asked him and he toulde me who he was, I made semblant to knowe hym, and wyth manye woordes beegane to make him beleave that the marshall went about to seeke him for certein complaints against him, and persuaded him to go with me to the Chauncerye and there I would save him. The frier dismayed and all trembling seemed as thoughe he wist not what to do, and said that he doubted taking in case he should go far from Saint Celso. Still I put him in good comfort, and saide somuche to him that he leaped up beehinde me, and then me thought my devise was fully accomplished. And I beegane to ride my horse by and

by up and downe the merchauntes streete, which went kicking and winsing. Imagine with your selves now what a faire sight it was to beehould a frier on horsebacke beehinde a masker, his garmentes fleeing abrode and his head shaking to and fro, that a man would have thought he had bine alwaies falling. With this faire sight, the gentilmen beegane to hurle egges out at the windowes, and afterwarde all the bankers and as many as were there, so that the haile never fell with a more vyolence from the skye, then there fell egges out from the windowes, whiche for the moste part came all upon me. And I for that I was in maskerie passed not upon the matter, and thought verilie that all the laughinge had bine for the frier and not for me, and upon this went sundrie times up and downe the Bankes alwayes with that furye of hell beehinde me. And thoughe the frier (in maner) weeping beesought me to lett him goe downe and not to showe suche shame to the weede, yet did the knave afterward privilie cause egges to be given him by certein Lackayes sett there for the nones, and makeinge wise to greepe me harde for fallynge, squised them in my bosome, and many times on my head, and otherwhile in my forehead, so that I was foule arayed. Finally whan everie man was weerye both of laughinge and throwing egges, he leaped downe from behind me, and plucking his hood backward showed me a great bushe of heare, and said: M. Bernarde, I am a horse keaper in the stable at Saint Peter ad Vincula, and am he that looketh to youre mulett. Then wiste I not whyche prevayled moste in me, grief, angre or shame. Yet for the lesse hurt I fled towarde my lodgyng, and the nexte mornynge I durste not showe my heade abrode. But the laughynge at that Meerie Prancke dyd not endure the daye folowynge onelye, but also lasteth (in a maner) until this daye.

THE ESSAYS
of
MICHEL DE MONTAIGNE
Translated into
English
by
JOHN FLORIO
1603

As I look at his effigy opposite the title-page, I seem to hear him say, 'You may play old Poz, if you will; you may rail and exaggerate,—I stand here for truth, and will not, for all the states, and churches, and revenues, and personal reputations of Europe, overstate the dry fact as I see it; I will rather mumble and prose about what I certainly know,—my house and barns; my father, my wife, and my tenants; my old lean bald pate; my knives and forks; what meats I eat, and what drinks I prefer; and a hundred straws just as ridiculous,—than I will write, with a fine crow-quill, a fine romance. I like gray days, and autumn and winter weather. I am gray and autumnal myself, and think an undress, and old shoes that do not pinch my feet, and old friends who do not constrain me, and plain topics where I do not need to strain myself and pump my brains, the most suitable. Our condition as men is risky and ticklish enough. One cannot be sure of himself and his fortune an hour, but he may be whisked off into some pitiable or ridiculous plight. Why should I vapour and play the philosopher, instead of ballasting, the best I can, this dancing balloon? So, at least, I live within compass, keep myself ready for action, and can shoot the gulf, at last, with decency. If there be anything farcical in such a life the blame is not mine: let it lie at fate's and nature's door.'

RALPH WALDO EMERSON. *Montaigne; or, The Sceptic.*

MONTAIGNE

Sentinell Starres.

THERE is a Nation, where the enclosures of Gardens and Fields, they intend to keep several, are made with a seely twine of cotton, which amongst them is found to be more safe and fast, then are our ditches and hedges. 'Furem signata sollicitant, Aperta effractarius praeterit. Things sealed up sollicite a thiefe to breake them open: Whereas a common burglarer will passe by quietly things that lie open.' Amongst other meanes, ease and facility dooth haply cover and fence my house from the violence of civill warres: Inclosure and fencing drawson the enterprise; and defiance, the offence. I have abated and weakned the souldiers designe, by taking hazard and al meanes of military glory from their exploite, which is wont to serve them for a title, and steade them for an excuse. What is performed coragiously, at what time justice lieth dead, and law hath not hir due course, is ever done honorably. I yeeld them the conquest of my house dastardly and tretcherous. It is never shut to any that knocketh. It hath no other guardian or provision but a Porter, as an auncient custome, and used cerimony, who serveth not so much to defend my gate as to offer it more decently and courtously to all comers. I have nor watch nor sentinell, but what the Starres keepe for mee.

Montaigne and his bookes.

THE sycke man is not to be moaned, that hath his health in his sleeve. In the experience and use of this sentence, which is most true, consisteth all the commodity I reape of bookes. In effect I make no other use of them, then those who know them not. I enioy them, as a myser doth his golde; to know, that I may enioy them when I list; my mind is settled and satisfied with the right possession. I never travell without bookes, nor in peace nor in warre; yet doe I passe many dayes and monethes without using them. It shall be anon, say I or to morrow, or when I please; in the meane while the time runnes away, and passeth without hurting me. For it is wonderfull, what repose I take, and how I continue in

this consideration, that they are at my elbow to delight me when time shall serve: and in acknowledging what assistance they give unto my life. This is the best munition I have found in this human peregrination; and I extreemely bewaile those men of understanding that want the same. I accept with better will all other kinds of amusements, how slight soever, forsomuch as this cannot faile me. At home I betake me somewhat the oftner to my Librarie, whence all at once I command and survey all my houshold; It is seated in the chief entrie of my house, thence I behold under me my garden, my base court, my yarde, and looke even into most roomes of my house. There without order, without methode, and by piece-meales I turne-over and ransacke, now one booke and now another. Sometimes I muse and rave; and walking up and downe I endite and enregister these my humors, these my conceits. It is placed on the third storie of a towre. The lower-most is my chappell; the second chamber with other lodgings, where I often lye, because I would be alone. Above it is a great wardrobe. It was in times past the most unprofitable place of all my house. There I passe the greatest part of my lives dayes, and weare out most houres of the day. I am never there a nights: Next unto it is a handsome neate cabinet, able and large enough to receive fire in winter, and very pleasantly windowed. And if I feared not care, more then cost; (care which drives and diverts me from all businesse) I might easilie joyne a convenient gallerie of a hundred paces long, and twelve broad, on each side of it, and upon one floore; having already, for some other purpose, found all the walles raised unto a convenient height. Each retired place requireth a walke. My thoughts are prone to sleepe, if I sit long. My minde goes not alone as if legges did moove it. Those that studie without bookes, are all in the same case. The forme of it is round, and hath no flat side, but what serveth for my table and chaire; In which bending or circling manner, at one looke it offreth me the full sight of all my bookes, set round about upon shelves or decks, fieve rankes one upon another. It hath three baye-windowes, of a farre-extending, rich and unresisted prospect, and is in diameter sixteen paces voide. In winter I am lesse continually there: for my house (as the name of it importeth) is pearched upon an ovei-pearing hillocke; and hath no part more subiect to all wethers then this; which pleaseth me the more, both because the accesse unto it is

somewhat troublesom and remote, & for the benefit of the exercise, which is to be respected; and that I may the better seclude my selfe from companie, and keepe incrochers from me: There is my seate, that is my throne.

How a man should be judged.

WHEN you will esteeme a man, why should you survey him all wrapt, and envellopped? He then but sheweth-us those parts, that are no whit his owne: and hideth those from-us, by which alone his worth is to be judged. It is the goodnes of the sworde you seeke-after, and not the worth of the scabbard; for which peradventure you would not give a farthing, if it want his lynng. A man should be judged by himselfe, and not by his complements. And as an ancient saith very pleasantly: Doe you know wherefore you esteeme him talle? You accoumpt the height of his pattins: The Base is no part of his stature: Measure him without his stiltes, let him lay aside his ritches and externall honours, and shew himselfe in his shirt.

Are Princes pleased with so little?

I WAS now upon this point, that we need but looke upon a man advanced to dignitie: had we but three dayes before knowne him to be of little or no worthe at all; an image of greatnesse, and an Idea of sufficiencie, doth insensiblie glide and creepe into our opinions; and we perswade our selves, that increasing in state, in credite and followers, he is also encreased in merite. We iudge of him, not according to his worth; but after the manner of casting-counters, according to the prerogative of his ranke. But let fortune turne hir wheele, let him againe decline and come downe amongst the vulgar multitude; every one with admiration enquireth of the cause, and how he was raysed so high. Good Lord, is that he? will some say. What? knew he no more? had he no other skill when he was so alofte? Are Princes pleased with so little? Nowe in good sooth wee were in very good hands, will others say. It is a thing my selfe have often seene in my dayes. Yea the verye maske of greatnesse, or habite of maiestie, represented in Tragedies, doth in some sorte touch and beguile us. The thing I adore in Kings, is the throng of their adoratores. All inclination and submission is due unto them, except the mindes. My reason is not framed to bend or stoope; my knees are.

On Death.

A MAN should ever, as much as in him lieth, be ready booted to take his journey, and above all things, looke he have then nothing to do but with himselfe.

I would have a man to be dooing, and to prolong his lives offices, as much as lieth in him, and let death seize upon me, whilst I am setting my cabiges, carelesse of her darte, but more of my unperfect gardin.

And it seemeth Fortune doth sometimes narrowly watch the last day of our life, thereby to shew her power, and in one moment to overthrow, what for many years together she had beene erecting, and makes us crie after *Laberius*, *Nimirum hac die una plus vixi, mihi quam vivendum fuit*. Thus it is, *I have lived longer by this one day, then I should*. So may that good advise of Solon be taken with reason. But forsomuch as hee is a Philosopher, with whom the favours or disfavours of fortune, and good or ill lucke have no place, and are not regarded by them; and puissances and greatneses and accidents of qualitie, are well nigh indifferent: I deeme it very likely he had a further reach, and meant that the same good fortune of our life, which dependeth of the tranquillitie and contentment of a wel-borne minde, and of the resolution and assurance of a well-ordered soule, should never be ascribed unto man, until he have bin seene play the last act of his comedie, and without doubt the hardest. In all the rest there may be some maske: either these sophisticall discourses of Philosophie are not in us but by countenance, or accidents that never touch us to the quick, give us alwaies leasure to keepe our countenance settled. But when that last parte of death, and of our selves comes to be acted, then no dissembling will availe, then is it high time to speake plaine english, and put off all vizardes: then whatsoever the pot containeth must be shewne, be it good or bad, foule or cleane, wine or water.

R A B E L A I S

Translated into English

by

SIR THOMAS URQUHART OF CROMARTY

1653

*OR donné par don,
Ordonne pardon
A cil qui le donne;
Et bien guerdonne
Tout mortel preudhom
Or donné par don.*

RABELAIS.

Verses written over the Great Gate
of the Abbey of Thélème.

R A B E L A I S

The discourse of the drinkers.

THEN did they fall upon the chat of victuals and some belly furniture to be snatched at in the very same place, which purpose was no sooner mentioned, but forthwith began flaggons to go, gammons to trot, goblets to fly, great bowles to ting, glasses to ring, draw, reach, fill, mixe, give it me without water, so my friend, so, whip me off this glasse neatly, bring me hither some claret, a full weeping glasse till it run over, a cessation and truce with thirst. Ha thou false Fever, wilt thou not be gone? by my figgins, godmother, I cannot as yet enter in the humour of being merry, nor drink so currantly as I would, you have catch'd a cold gamer, yea forsooth Sir; by the belly of Sanct Buf let us talk of our drink, I never drink but at my hours, like the Popes Mule, and I never drink but in my breviary, like a faire father Gardien. Which was first, thirst or drinking?

Thirst, for who in the time of innocence would have drunk without being athirst? nay, Sir, it was drinking; for *privatio prae-supponit habitum*. I am learned you see, Faecundi calices quem non fecere disertum? we poor innocents drink but too much without thirst: not I truly, who am a sinner, for I never drink without thirst, either present or future, to prevent it, (as you know) I drink for the thirst to come; I drink eternally, this is to me an eternity of drinking, and drinking of eternity; let us sing, let us drink, and tune up our round-lays; where is my funnel? what? it seems I do not drink but by an Attourney? do you wet your selves to dry, or do you dry to wet you? pish, I understand not the Rhethorick (Theorick I should say) but I help my self somewhat by the practice. Baste enough, . . .

Our fathers drank lustily, and emptied their cans; well cack'd, well sung; come let us drink: will you send nothing to the river, here is one going to wash the tripes: I drink no more then a sponge, I drink like a Templer Knight: and I *tanquam sponsus*, and I *sicut terra sine aqua*, give me a *synonymon* for a gammon of

bacon? it is the compulsory of drinkers: it is a *pully*; by a *pully*-rope wine is let down into a *cellar*, and by a gammon into the stomach, hei now boyes hither, some drink some drink, there is no trouble in it, *respice personam, pone pro duos, bus non est in usu*. If I could get up as well as I can swallow down, I had been long ere now very high in the aire.

Here page fill: I prethee, forget me not when it comes to my turne, and I will enter the election I have made of thee into the very register of my heart. Sup *Guillot*, and spare not, there is yet somewhat in the pot.

I appeale from thirst, and disclaim its jurisdiction. *Page* sue sue out my appeale in forme, this remnant in the bottome of the glasse must follow its Leader. I was wont heretofore to drink out all, but now I leave nothing. Let us not make too much haste, it is requisite we carry all along with us; hey day, here are tripes fit for our sport, and in earnest excellent *Godebillios* of the dun Oxe (you know) with the black streak. O for Gods sake let us lash them soundly, yet thriftily. Drink, or I will. No, no, drink I beseech you:

Hey now lads, let us moisten our selves, it will be time to dry hereafter. White wine here, wine boyes, poure out all in the name of Lucifer, fill here you, fill and fill (*pescods* on you) till it be full. My tongue peels. *Lanstringue*, to thee Countreyman, I drink to thee good fellow, camerade to thee, lustie, lively, la, la, that was drunk to some purpose, and bravely gulped over. O *lachryma Christi*, it is of the best grape; I, faith, pure *Greek*, *Greek*, O the fine white wine, upon my conscience it is a kinde of taffatas wine, *hin*, *hin*, it is of one eare, well wrought, and of good wooll; courage camrade, up thy heart billy, we will not be beasted at this bout, for I have got one trick, *ex hoc in hoc*, there is no inchantment, nor charme there, every one of you hath seene it, my prentiship is out, I am a free man at this trade. I am prester mast, (*Prish-Brun* I should say) master past. O the drinkers, those that are a dry, O poore thirsty souls, good *Page* my friend, fill me here some, and crowne the wine I pray thee, like a'Cardinal, *Natura abhorret vacuum*. Would you say that a flie could drink in this, this is after the fashion of *Swisserland*, cleare off, neat, *super-*

naculum, come therefore blades to this divine liquor, and celestial juyce, swill it over heartily, and spare not, it is a decoction of Nectar and Ambrosia.

How a monk of Seville, saved the close of the Abbey from being ransacked by the enemy.

So much they did, and so farre they went pillaging and stealing, that at last they came to Seville, where they robbed both men and women, and took all they could catch: nothing was either too hot or too heavie for them. Although the plague was there in the most part of all the houses, they neverthelesse entered every where; then plundered and carried away all that was within; and yet for all this not one of them took any hurt, which is a most wonderful case. For the Curates, Vicars, Preachers, Physicians, Chirurgions and Apothecaries, who went to visit, to dresse, to cure, to heale, to preach unto, and admonish those that were sick were all dead of the infection; and these devillish robbers and murtherers caught never any harme at all. Whence comes this to passe, (my masters) I beseech you think upon it? the town being thus pillaged, they went unto the Abbey with a horrible noise and tumult, but they found it shut and made fast against them; whereupon the body of the army marched forward towards a passe or ford called the *Sue de vede*, except seven companies of foot, and two hundred lancers, who staying there, broke down the walls of the Closse, to waste, spoile and make havock of all the Vines and Vintage within that place. The Monks (poor devils) knew not in that extremity to which of all their Sancts they should vow themselves; neverthelesse, at all adventures they rang the bells *ad capitulum capitulantes*: there it was decreed, that they should make a faire Procession, stuffed with good lectures, prayers and letanies, *contra hostium insidias*, and jollie responses *pro pace*.

There was then in the Abbey a claustral Monk, called *Freer Ihon* of the funnels and gobbets, in French *des enroumeures*, young, gallant, frisk, lustie, nimble, *quick, active*, bold, adventurous, resolute, tall, lean, wide-mouthed, long-nosed, a faire dispatcher of morning prayers, unbridler of masses, and runner over of vigils: and to conclude summarily in a word, a right Monk, if ever there was any, since the Monking world monkied

a Monkerie: for the rest a Clerk, even to the teeth in matter of breviary. This Monk hearing the noise that the enemy made within the inclosure of the Vineyard, went out to see what they were doing; and perceiving that they were cutting and gathering the grapes, whereon was grounded the foundation of all their next yeares wine, returned unto the quire of the Church where the other Monks were, all amazed and astonished like so many Bell-melters. . . .

Then said the Prior of the Covent, What should this drunken fellow do here, let him be carried to prison for troubling the di-vine service: Nay, said the Monk, the wine service, let us behave our selves so, that it be not troubled; for you your self, *my Lord Prior*, love to drink of the best, and so doth every honest man. . . .

As he spake this, he threw off his great Monks habit, and laid hold upon the staffe of the crosse, which was made of the heart of a sorbaple-tree, it being of the length of a lance, round, of a full gripe, and a little poudred with lilies called *flower de luce*, the workmanship whereof was almost all defaced and worn out. Thus went he out in a faire long-skirted jacket, putting his frock scarfewayes athwart his breast, and in this equipage, with his staffe, shaft or truncheon of the crosse, laid on so lustily, brisk and fiercely upon his enemies, who without any order, or ensigne, or trumpet, or drum, were busied in gathering the grapes of the Vineyard; for the Cornets, Guidons, and Ensigne-bearers, had laid down their standards, banners, and colours by the wall-sides: the Drummers had knock't out the heads of their Drums on one end, to fill them with grapes: The Trumpeters were loaded with great bundles of bunches, and huge knots of clusters: In summe, every one of them was out of aray, and all in disorder. He hurried therefore upon them so rudely, without crying *gare* or beware, that he overthrew them like hogs, tumbled them over like swine, striking athwart and alongst, and by one means or other laid so about him, after the old fashion of fencing, that to some he beat out their braines, to others he crushed their armes, battered their legs, and bethwacked their sides till their ribs cracked with it; to others again he unjoynted the spondyles or *knuckles of the neck*, disfigured their chaps, gashed their faces, made their cheeks hang flapping on their chin, and so swinged and belammed them, that they fell down before him like hay

before a Mower : to some others he spoiled the frame of their kidneys, marred their backs, broke their thigh-bones, pash't in their noses, poached out their eyes, cleft their mandibles, tore their jaws, dung in their teeth into their throat, shook asunder their omoplates or shoulder-blade, *sphacelated* their shins, mortified their shanks, inflamed their ankles, heaved off of the hinges their ishies, their *sciatica* or hip-gout, dislocated the joints of the knees, squattered into pieces the boughts or pestles of their thighs, and so thumped, mawled and belaboured them every where, that never was corne so thick and threefold thresh't upon by Plowmens failes, as were the pitifully disjoynted members of their mangled bodies, under the merciless baton of the Crosse. If any offered to hide himself amongst the thickest of the Vines, he laid him squat as a flounder, bruised the ridge of his back, and dash't his reines like a dog. If any thought by flight to escape, he made his head to flie in pieces by the *Lambdoidal commissure*, which is a seame in the hinder part of the scull. If any one did scramble up into a tree thinking there to be safe, he rent up his perinee, and impaled him in at the fundament. If any of his old acquaintance happened to cry out, *Ha Fryar Ihon* my friend, *Fryar Ihon*, quarter, quarter, I yield my self to you, to you I render my self: So thou shalt (said he) and must whether thou wouldest or no, and withal render and yield up thy soul to all the devils in hell, then suddenly gave them *Dronos*, that is, so many knocks, thumps, raps, dints, thwacks and bangs, as sufficed to warne *Pluto* of their coming, and dispatch them a going: if any was so rash and full of temerity as to resist him to his face, then was it he did shew the strength of his muscles, for without more ado he did transpierce him, by running him in at the breast, through the mediastine and the heart.

Thus by his prowesse and valour were discomfited all those of the army that entred into the Closse of the Abbey, unto the number of thirteen thousand, six hundred, twenty and two, besides the women and little children, which is alwayes to be understood. Never did *Maugis* the *Hermite* bear himself more valiantly with his *bourdon* or *Pilgrims* staffe against the Saracens, of whom it is written in the Acts of the foure sons of *Haymon*, then did this Monk against his enemies with the staffe of the Crosse.

B I O G R A P H I C A L N O T E S .

- ADLINGTON, WILLIAM. Save that he published his translation of Apuleius (1566) nothing certain is known of him. His dedication to Thomas, Earl of Sussex, of the *Golden Asse* is dated 'from University College in Oxonford,' but his name does not appear in the Register of the University.
- BERNERS. Second Baron (1467-1533). Published his translation of Froissart's *Chronicles* in 1523-5.
- B. R. Said by some authorities to be the initials of Barnabe Rich, who was born about 1540 and died in 1617. This is only surmise. The style of B. R. in his translation of Herodotus has little in common with the style of Rich as shown in his pamphlets and reminiscences.
- DANETT, THOMAS. Nothing is known of his life. He translated de Comines' History (1601) and the History of Francesco Guicciardini (1593). He died in 1601.
- FLORIO, JOHN (1553?-1625). Published an Italian-English dictionary (1598) and his translation of Montaigne (1603).
- GRENEWAY, RICHARD. Translated the *Annals* and the *Description of Germania* of Tacitus (1598).
- HARINGTON, JOHN. Little is known of him. He was in the service of Henry VIII and afterwards of Princess Elizabeth. He and his wife and the princess were imprisoned in the Tower (1554).
- HEYWOOD, THOMAS (1575?-1650?). Dramatist. Translated the *Histories of Sallust* (1608).
- HOBBS, THOMAS (1588-1679). Philosopher, author of *Leviathan* (1651). Published his translation of Thucydides in 1629.
- HOBY, SIR THOMAS (1530-66). Translated *The Courtier* of Count Baldassare Castiglione (1561). He was ambassador to France and died in Paris.
- HOLLAND, PHILEMON (1552-1637). Published translations of Livy (1600), Pliny's *Natural History* (1601), Plutarch's *Morals* (1603), Suetonius (1606), Camden's *Britannia* (1610) and Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (1632).

- NEWTON, THOMAS (1542-1607). Published translations of *The Touchstone of Complexions* from the Latin of 'Leuine Lemnie' (1581), *A Direction for the Health of Magistrates and Students* from Gulielmus Gratarolus (1574), *A Herbal for the Bible* from Levinus Lemnius (1587), and many others.
- NORTH, SIR THOMAS (1535?-1601?). Translated Plutarch's *Lives* from the French of Jacques Amyot (1579), also Guevara's *Libro Aureo* from the French version (1557).
- SAVILE, SIR HENRY (1549-1622). Taught Queen Elizabeth Greek. Warden of Merton College, Oxford (1585-1622). Published an edition of *St Chrysostom* (1610-13) and a translation of the *Histories of Tacitus* (1591).
- SHELTON, THOMAS (died about 1620). Translator of *Don Quixote*.
- UNDERDOWNE, THOMAS (died about 1587). Published his translation of Heliodorus' *Aethiopian Historie* in 1569.
- URQUHART, SIR THOMAS (1611-60). Published a scheme for a universal language (1653) and a translation of part of Rabelais (1653).

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A. F. C.

